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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

EDITED BY

SOLON J. BUCK

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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THE RELATION OF THE STATE TO HISTORICAL WORK[1]

BY CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD

From those far-off ages, when heroic poems were preserved by memory in gilds of bards rather than by written manuscript, there has come down to us the following tale concerning the preservation of the great heroic epic of Ireland, the Cattle Raid of Cooley. Shortly after Senchán Torpeist was elected to the headship of Irish bards, he called an assembly of the poets of Ireland to discover if the whole of that famous poem was held in memory, but found that only scattered parts of it were known. Unwilling that this record of heroic deeds should be lost, Senchán inquired of his students if any would go to the land of Letha to learn the epic. Two followers, one of whom was Senchán's own son, Muirgein, volunteered. Enthusiastically the young men started on their quest and finally came to the kingdom of Connacht and visited the grave of that great hero of mythical Ireland, Fergus mac Roig, who had been one of the principal participants in the cattle raid. Here Muirgein lingered behind while his companion went forward to search for lodging.

The legend relates that Muirgein addressed to the gravestone a song as if he were singing to the hero Fergus himself. It was an incantation. Immediately there arose a great mist which separated Muirgein from his companion for three days and three nights, during which time Fergus, dressed in a magnificent costume of by-gone days, rose from the grave and sang to the eager young poet the epic from beginning to end. Thus by the intervention of supernatural power was the greatest monument of Irish literature preserved for posterity.

[1]Read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 18, 1915.

This story, which comes to us from the distant past, handed down by word of mouth for generations before it was transcribed for preservation, has its roots in a fundamental principle of human society. The desire to preserve the memory of the deeds of ancestors is common to men of all places and all times, wherever they are gathered in communities. The American Indians in council or war dance solemnly chanted the record of the deeds their ancestors wrought against their life-long enemy in order that their children might be incited to deeds of like daring; the early Greeks found pleasure in the measured cadences of Homer, preserving for them the remembrance of those far-off days when the heroic figures of Agamemnon and Achilles led the forces of their fatherland against Priam's sons.

Coming down through the ages we find that every generation developed its own means of preserving the memory of the past, and that finally this almost unconscious longing for information is metamorphosed into a conscious effort to interpret scientifically the by-gone ages in order that the present day conditions may be better understood. The bard of old becomes the historian, and the man of greater culture turns his pages no less eagerly than the half-barbarous Indian or Greek listened to the ancient songs. The latest stage in this development is reached when a people becomes conscious of its own unity and realizes that its past is the warp and woof of its own consciousness, and by means of official encouragement seeks to preserve those records from which alone the story of its own material and spiritual growth may be woven.

It is natural that this feeling of state personality which leads to the preservation of national records should develop earliest in states with a long history. States such as England, France, Germany, and Italy have regarded the care of their records and their publications as a state duty for many generations, whereas younger states such as our own United States have just begun to consider the question seriously. For the same reason it was natural that our sister states to the east of

the Alleghanies should make a start in this direction long before the states of the West should reach a consciousness of an historic past; but, because of this earlier development of a consciousness in the East, the form of activity has, generally speaking, differed from that of the later development in the West. Before that stage of development in the eastern states was reached when official support to the work of historians would naturally be given, there had grown up strong historical societies, privately endowed, to which the eastern states have left for the most part the performance of this sacred duty. Thus it is to the Massachusetts Historical Society that the old Bay State really leaves the collection of sources and the writing of its history, and a similar situation exists in Pennsylvania and most of the other states; and state support has been only supplementary to such private efforts. In New York, for instance, besides the state historical society, we find that the state itself very early entered the field of history and through the office of state historian performed some excellent work; and such efforts, supplementary in character, have been common in other states. In the southern states, particularly North Carolina, the most important publication of historic documents has been the result of state aid.

In the West there are a few rather wealthy private historical societies, notably those at Chicago and St. Louis and the Ohio Philosophical and Historical Society; but we do not think of these when there is called to our mind the thought of the real creative work in western history, for the most important work in our section has not been accomplished by such privately endowed institutions but through the medium of state supported historical organizations. Two distinct forms of state supported organizations are to be found in the Mississippi Valley. The first is the state supported historical society, the most eminent example of which is the Wisconsin Historical Society. During the early period of its existence, while still under the guidance of Dr. Draper, this remained a private society; but with the appointment of the late Dr. Reuben Gold

Thwaites as secretary it changed its character completely. That genius saw the future possibilities in the state endowed institution, tapped the stream of state appropriations, and made of the society the leader in the whole West. The example of Wisconsin has been followed very generally in the other states of the Mississippi Valley; and although there has not resulted in every case so wise an expenditure of the state's money as in Wisconsin, still there are today many strong institutions in this territory which are putting forth publications that will rival, if not excel, any similar work in the East.

The second form of state supported organization for historical work is that in which the expenditure of the appropriations has been placed in the hands of duly appointed state officials whose responsibility may be easily maintained. In these cases there has been established an historical commission as in Illinois and more recently in Michigan or else there has been appointed an individual known as state archivist or historian to perform this duty. The best instances of this are found in Alabama and Mississippi, whose example has been followed by several other southern states. Although such commissions or archivists may be subject to the vagaries of politics, this form of organization escapes the charge of irresponsibility sometimes made against the state supported historical societies.

That the state should appropriate money for the preservation of the sources of its history and for the encouragement of historical research seems almost like one of those axioms which we call self-evident truths, and that the states of the Mississippi Valley have proved their almost universal acceptance of this duty by the appropriation of money for this purpose is most encouraging. Unfortunately there has not developed among the public a consciousness of the seriousness of this duty nor of the correct method of performing it. We here in America have been slow to learn that training is essential for the performance of public business. The self-confidence of Americans, the doctrine of equality among men, the pre-

dominance of the spoils system in politics have made us distrust the specialist. We are gradually emerging, however, from this provincial viewpoint. Most of us now prefer to call a physician when we are sick, to employ a lawyer when we go to court, and to hire a stenographer when we wish to dictate a letter. Unfortunately the public is not yet awakened to the need of seeking out a well-trained historian when there is demand that history be written. The truth of this statement is proved by the large yearly sale of worthless books of so-called history, by the assigning of history teaching to any member of the high school faculty who has a convenient hour vacant, and by the employment by our states of the untrained to expend the money appropriated for historical activities. Almost inexplicable is that heedlessness that is exhibited by our historical societies and institutions when they make appointments for historical work. The profession of historian requires greater, more careful, and more varied training than that of the lawyer or physician. The methods of the historical science are the result of a long development and comprise a body of learning that can be acquired only after laborious efforts. No one is fitted to write on any field without some knowledge of many other fields. American history cannot be divorced from its European background. Here in Minnesota the history of the state has many connections with Europe. In the period of discovery you touch hands with the French and later with the English; and this later connection lasted long after this territory had become a part of the United States. In your later history many of the principal forces of your civilization must be traced back to the Scandinavian and other states.

Besides the equipment in historical knowledge, the historian must be trained in economics and political science, should be familiar with literature and philosophy and with the most recent trend of thought in the natural sciences. To these should be added a thorough equipment in language, for the modern-day historian finds indispensable a working knowledge of at least two languages, German and French.

It has often been said to me that such a man as I have here depicted is too academic, and for that reason will not reach the ear of the people. The criticism is based upon a wrong interpretation of the duty of the men who are to have charge of the historical work of the state. Theirs is not the duty of writing history for popular consumption. They should not set up as Francis Parkmans. Their duty is no less important, although much more humble. It is the collection of the sources of knowledge and their publication. They are the drudges of the historical fraternity, for they prepare the material which the would-be Francis Parkmans will use; but in order that the future historians may do their work correctly, these drudges must prepare for them the materials in a careful, orderly, and scientific manner. Surely a state cannot afford to do work of this character in such a way that it must all be done over again because unskilled laborers have been employed. Yet that is what is being done in too many states in these United States of ours. Work is being turned out at the expense of the state which adds almost nothing to our knowledge and is of such poor quality that it increases rather than lightens the historian's labor.

The work of those men who are employed by the state to care for its historical activities falls under three headings: first, the collection of data; second, its care; and third, its publication. The collection of the data for the history of the state is one of the first and primary duties that the state owes to its past. We shall find when we come to the discussion of the preservation of the same, that the state has in its archives a very large mass of archival material that needs no collection, and requires only care; but no historical society or institution can remain satisfied with the mere official papers that have emanated from or come into the various departments of government. These form no doubt the bones of the skeletons of history and their careful preservation is essential, but if history is to be written as it should be, there is needed far greater knowledge of the life of the people than can be found in gov-

ernors' messages, letters of the secretary of state, treasury accounts, or census returns.

The story of a state's past is so varied that material of all kinds which illustrates the various activities of its citizens must be collected. Much of the materials which historians use may seem to the layman to be of little value, but they are the sources from which are depicted the life of the people. The late Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites of the Wisconsin Historical Society used to delight to quote in the missionary history sermons which he preached up and down the Mississippi Valley—sermons which led many an historical society to give greater heed to its collection of sources—the following sentence: "The literary rubbish of one generation is the priceless treasure of the next." And he used to tell as illustrative of this remark a story drawn from his own wide experience. One day there came to him a former school superintendent who informed him that he had found lying away forgotten in a box in his attic a large collection of the text-books that were formerly used in the state of Wisconsin. They dated from the very earliest time of the school system in the state down close to the present era. The owner informed Dr. Thwaites that he was intending to destroy them when he thought that the Wisconsin Historical Society might find them of some use. Naturally Dr. Thwaites, who had preached the doctrine of saving so long and so loud, said "Yes." Here were old arithmetics, spelling books, and grammars, the rubbish of the schoolrooms—such things as our school children buy and cast aside without a thought. Who could find any use for such things?

Scarcely had Thwaites arranged the collection upon the shelves of the historical society, when a student from the department of education of the University of Wisconsin came to him to ask if the Wisconsin Historical Society had any material to assist in writing a doctor's thesis on the development of public education in the state of Wisconsin. "Did it have? Of course it had material on all phases of the state's history," said Dr. Thwaites and he proudly led this seeker after

knowledge to those shelves that had so recently been filled with what proved to be the best collection of school text-books in the state.

There are many similar stories that might be told coming to us from all parts of the world, stories of how collections of letters, invitations, menus, programs, street ballads, and such ephemeral literature have been saved and proved a store house for later historians. The advertisements of the older newspapers of this country—that part of the newspaper which we today so carelessly cast aside—furnish our historians most reliable information on the life of our ancestors.

From another viewpoint the necessity of collecting all the material bearing upon a subject may be illustrated. Our historians have frequently trusted too readily to the printed material that was so easily accessible, thinking that from this they could draw their story. They have forgotten that the sources of information which are printed are but a very small portion of the material which the historian must use in order to tell a complete story. An interesting tale of error that was due to the failure to find all the material has come under my observation. Some thirty-five years ago Mr. E. G. Mason of the Chicago Historical Society went into southern Illinois seeking for the old Kaskaskia manuscripts. As you know, Kaskaskia was one of those early French villages of Illinois founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century and the chief settlement in these far western lands for over a hundred years. So far as we know there had been no persistent effort made to find these records before the secretary of the Chicago Historical Society made his famous journey.

He reported incorrectly that all the documents were lost, but he did return with one record book which had been kept by John Todd, county lieutenant of the county of Illinois which was created by an act of the Virginia legislature after George Rogers Clark occupied the country during the Revolutionary War. In this record book Mr. Mason discovered copies of two documents issued by John Todd in the year 1779: an order

for a guard to accompany a condemned slave named Moreau to Cahokia and a warrant for the execution of another slave named Manuel. The latter was to be burned at the stake on the bank of the Mississippi River near Kaskaskia. Mr. Mason suggested that the two negroes were put to death for the practice of voodooism or witchcraft, since he connected these documents with a story of a witchcraft fear that had been handed down by another historian, who was almost contemporary with these events. Mr. Mason also drew the attention of his readers to the fact that the death warrant issued against Manuel had been crossed out in the record book and suggested that John Todd, county lieutenant of the county of Illinois, was ashamed of the act that he had done.[1]

Thus far we have Mr. Mason's story, but that is not the end of this tradition. A man whose name may possibly be known in other connections to some of you, Theodore Roosevelt, at an early period in his career wrote a history which he called *The Winning of the West,* in which he repeated the story of the death of Manuel. Mr. Roosevelt's account is as follows:[2]

"Yet there are two entries in the proceedings of the creole courts for the summer of 1779, as preserved in Todd's 'Record Book,' which are of startling significance. To understand them it must be remembered that the creoles were very ignorant and superstitious, and that they one and all, including, apparently, even their priests, firmly believed in witchcraft and sorcery. Some of their negro slaves had been born in Africa, the others had come from the Lower Mississippi or the West Indies; they practised the strange rites of voodooism, and a few were adepts in the art of poisoning. Accordingly the French were

[1]Edward G. Mason, "Col. John Todd's Record-Book" in *Fergus Historical Series,* 12: 49-68, reprinted in his *Chapters from Illinois History,* 250-279. The record book itself is printed in *Early Chicago and Illinois,* 289-316 (*Chicago Historical Collections,* 5). See also John Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (1852 ed.), 143.

[2]Roosevelt, *Winning of the West,* 2: 174.

always on the look-out lest their slaves should, by spell or poison, take their lives. It must also be kept in mind that the pardoning power of the commandant did not extend to cases of treason or murder—a witchcraft trial being generally one for murder,—and that he was expressly forbidden to interfere with the customs and laws, or go counter to the prejudices, of the inhabitants.

"At this time the creoles were smitten by a sudden epidemic of fear that their negro slaves were trying to bewitch and poison them. Several of the negroes were seized and tried, and in June two were condemned to death. One, named Moreau, was sentenced to be hung outside Cahokia. The other, a Kaskaskian slave named Manuel, suffered a worse fate. He was sentenced 'to be chained to a post at the water-side, and there to be burnt alive and his ashes scattered.' These two sentences, and the directions for their immediate execution, reveal a dark chapter in the early history of Illinois. It seems a strange thing that, in the United States, three years after the declaration of independence, men should have been burnt and hung for witchcraft, in accordance with the laws, and with the decision of the proper court. The fact that the victim, before being burned, was forced to make 'honorable fine' at the door of the Catholic church, shows that the priest at least acquiesced in the decision. The blame justly resting on the Puritans of seventeenth-century New England must likewise fall on the Catholic French of eighteenth-century Illinois."

Unfortunately for Mr. Roosevelt's description of the burning of a witch in Catholic Illinois, the minutes of the courts that tried the said negroes have been discovered, and from these we find that the two negroes were tried for poisoning their master and mistress. Their guilt was proved; the sentence of the Kaskaskia court was that Manuel should be burned at the stake, a sentence that was in strict accordance with the ruling law of Virginia which demanded such a penalty in the case of the murder of a master by his slave. Contrary to Mr.

Roosevelt's statement, the custom of Catholic Illinois was not even taken into consideration.[1]

We now come to the crossing out in the record book of the warrant which, as you probably remember, Mr. Mason explained as due to the conscience of John Todd, county lieutenant. The explanation of this peculiar act was simple when there was found another warrant issued later, by the terms of which the sentence against Manuel was changed from burning at the stake to death by hanging. Of course Todd crossed out the warrant which was no longer to be executed. With the full evidence before us what shall we say of Mr. Roosevelt's judgment concerning "the blame" that "must likewise fall on the Catholic French of eighteenth-century Illinois"?

The story illustrates an error in historical criticism that has frequently been committed. It is so easy to draw conclusions from too meager information. That this error may be avoided, it is the duty of the state to make it possible for historians to know all that may be known. For that purpose the state should send emissaries up and down its territory to enter every attic in every town and village in the state, if necessary, in search for that historically illuminating material, which may become at any moment material for another kind of illumination whenever the tidy housekeeper determines that house-cleaning time has come.

It is very remarkable how intelligent people fail to realize the value of manuscripts that might be expected to appeal to them as of some importance. An illustration that comes from my own family, which on the whole has been made up of rather intelligent men and women, will show how lightly the housewife throws important historical documents into the fire. My father was a western Massachusetts man and was active in the anti-slavery agitation of the ante-bellum days, and his activity brought him into correspondence with some of the important

[1]Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 12-21 (*Illinois Historical Collections*, 2); John G. Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, 190 (*History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 2).

leaders of that movement. He was also a diary-keeping man, entering on the page each day an account of his experiences or of his thoughts. This practice he kept up for years. When he died my mother had all his letters destroyed except a few examples of the penmanship of such men as Garrison, Sumner, and others of similar fame. The diaries passed into the possession of my half-brother and were preserved by him until his death. In the course of time both diaries and letters were inherited by an older brother of mine who stored them in his attic. One day my sister-in-law, who is of the New England type of housekeeper, determined to clean out that particular corner and into the fire went every letter and diary except those two diaries which happen to contain the record of the birth of her husband and your humble servant. So of my father's diaries which he kept through a generation, there are but two left, and of his correspondence practically nothing. You may say that this material was not of very great importance to the history of the United States; but in speaking of collections of historical material we are not considering only the writing of the history of the nation or even the writing of the history of the state, for the state, if it does its duty, must strive to preserve the papers and records which will serve in writing the family histories of its citizens. The loss of those diaries was, for the history of the Alvord family, irreparable.

The destruction of such family records, which is taking place all over this land, may actually result in a most serious, although unconscious, loss. From some of these families—and it may be yours or mine—there may be born in a generation or two a great world figure like William Shakespeare or Napoleon Bonaparte, about whom posterity will wish to know everything. Such a man can never be understood except through a study of his ancestry, and every scrap of paper concerning him, his father and mother, and all his ancestors will assume a priceless value as an historical document. Those of you who have followed the studies upon the life of Dante will remember how the biographers of that great poet have searched

every available nook for information concerning his ancestry and have succeeded in reaching back only to the third generation. What wouldn't they give for family records that would make possible the true explanation of his genius?

Besides the numerous collections of family, business, and semi-official papers scattered through the cities, towns, and villages, there is a very large mass of source material for the history of any state which must be sought outside of its confines both in other states of the Union and in Europe. For instance, there must be very many letters and public documents illustrating the history of Minnesota in the Scandinavian states. Means should be taken to secure copies of these as rapidly as possible. Provided a regular sum of money is set aside each year for this purpose and care is exercised in the selection of documents to be copied or reproduced by the photostat, any historical society will find itself very shortly becoming an attractive center for students who quickly discover those depositories that furnish the best facilities for research. For a number of years now the University of Illinois has pursued this policy with most gratifying results.

While upon this subject of the collection of historical documents allow me to interpose a word of warning. We of the West must cease to cling to the prevalent idea that those events alone are history that have passed from the memory of man. Too great attention in our historical societies and in our historical institutions has been paid to that far away past over which the passage of time has shed a glamour. The time of the gay French voyageur, the British red-coat, and the fur-trader is very romantic, but the real history of the West does not belong to these days of long ago. Much more important for us are the days when the actual settlers carrying their farm utensils on flatboats or in their covered wagons were seeking the fertile lands of the West to make homes for themselves and their followers. History is not confined even to those days of the pioneer, for many an historical problem of utmost importance may be found in the civilization that is almost contemporary.

Here in Minnesota is the problem of the melting-pot. Your population has been drawn from many states in Europe. Men with foreign language and foreign customs have settled here in your midst and are gradually becoming assimilated with the American people. One of the most interesting problems that can be conceived concerns itself with this process of assimilation. How is the descendant of the Vikings being turned into an American?

The second of the duties to be discharged by the state is the preservation of the sources of its history. These sources are generally divided by historians and archivists into two classes: first, historical manuscripts; and second, public archives. This division has, on the whole, a certain justification. The historical manuscripts are such papers and documents as have come from private sources, the importance of which has been already described in sufficient detail. The public archives comprise those manuscripts that have been brought into being by the business of the state and are preserved, in the first place, for purposes of administration. Naturally there are numbered among these not only the archives belonging to the offices of the state capitol but also all those papers that contain a record of the business of county, township, etc.—in other words, both the records of the central and those of the local governments.

The United States and the various states of the Union have lagged far behind European states in the preservation of their public archives. In Europe there has been developed the science of archive economy and men are regularly instructed in the various universities to perform this very important duty to the state. In most of the countries the archivist is required to have received the degree of doctor of philosophy or doctor of laws and to have pursued certain definite courses in history, law, and archive economy that will best fit him for performing his duties. In almost all the states of Europe the archives are kept in buildings used for no other purpose. Sometimes, it is true, the building is old and very crowded, but the custodians

and all those who are entrusted with its care are trained men who carefully watch over the interests of the state. In many of the countries new buildings have been erected particularly for the purpose of housing the archives, and in others plans for such buildings were already made before the outbreak of the present war. In each one of these archives buildings a special room is set aside for those who wish to use the archives and adequate catalogues or inventories of the documents have been prepared.

What has the United States done for the preservation of our valuable national archives? The answer must be "Nothing." If we were to test the degree of civilization that has been reached by the citizens of the United States according to a principle that was laid down by a writer on the archives of Russia, namely, "the care which a nation devotes to the preservation of the manuscripts of its past may serve as a true measure of the degree of civilization to which it has attained," the United States would have to be assigned a position not far above the tribes of darkest Africa. It is true that no government has expended larger sums of money for the purchase of historical papers than the United States or for the publication of the same; but "no government," as Mr. Waldo Leland has said in a very interesting paper on our national archives,[1] "has more signally failed in the fundamental and far more important duty of preserving and rendering accessible to the student the first and foremost sources of the nation's history, the national archives."

The great accumulation of documents in Washington has completely outgrown the storage room that has been set aside for them with the result that the government is paying thousands of dollars for the renting of buildings that are little more than fire traps, for the preservation of what some of the officials regard as useless paper, but which must be considered by an intelligent public as documents of the utmost value. These

[1] *American Historical Review*, 18:1.

documents, stored in cellars and sub-cellars, under terraces and in attics, piled heap upon heap, subject to the danger of fire and to the corroding influence of dampness, are rapidly disintegrating under conditions that no civilized government should allow to exist.

The conditions in the states are not dissimilar to those that are to be found in Washington. In very few of the states do we have anything like an archives building. In almost all cases the public archives are deposited in the capitol building under conditions very similar to those that have been described in Washington. These buildings are by no means fireproof, and every now and then such disastrous fires as that which destroyed the capitol in Jefferson City, Missouri, only a short time ago, bring to our attention the dangers that are besetting these priceless treasures. It seemed as though conditions were not so bad in the capitol building in Albany, New York, where a presumably fireproof structure had been erected; but overcrowding, the impossibility of making conditions right in a building that was not primarily planned as an archival depository, and the fact that politics placed in the positions of janitors and fire-wardens men who were particularly unfit to perform their duties, made possible that disastrous fire on March 29, 1911, which shocked the whole United States. There were destroyed countless treasures which the world can never recover. The loss to the history of the West is inestimable. Throughout the period of British domination in the West, from the close of the French and Indian War to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the most important figure in western history was the superintendent of Indians in the northern district, Sir William Johnston of the colony of New York. He wrote to his agents constantly concerning the Indian troubles of the Old Northwest. He was receiving reports from his deputies and his commissaries. Traders interested in the fur-trade and land speculators were continually asking for his assistance. Sir William Johnston was a methodical man and kept all his correspondence, even copies of the letters that he sent. The

twenty-six folio volumes of this collection formed one of the treasures of the Albany capitol. Some of the most important of these volumes were completely destroyed, many of them were so burned as to make their contents illegible, and a few only escaped entirely safe. It is but one of the many losses that were suffered in that terrible disaster.

How long it will take the United States Congress to realize the need of a public archives building, it is impossible to prophesy; but the prospect in the various states is more hopeful at the present time than has been the case in the past. In several of our states there have been built proper buildings for the preservation of the material of the historical societies and in some few for the preservation of public archives. In a few states, such as Alabama, Mississippi, and Iowa, archivists or commissioners have been appointed to supervise the public archives of the state. In my own state at the present time plans are under way for the erection of a building to house various institutions, among them the historical library and the public archives; but such isolated cases do not make an ideal situation. The time must come when there shall be a public official in every state in the Union known as an archivist who shall have had special training for the performance of his duty and who shall be the custodian of all the archives except those in current use. The documents will be preserved in a building carefully designed for that purpose; they will be mended when needed, labeled and catalogued so that any individual, whether he is an historian, public official, or individual interested in a private lawsuit or in public affairs, may go and with the least loss of time find that which he is seeking. Our northern neighbor, the Dominion of Canada, is far ahead of us in this respect. There such a special archives building has been constructed and the archivist holds the important title of deputy minister.

So far we have been considering the danger to archives that may come from lack of proper protection against fire, moisture, heat, etc., but great losses have resulted from the carelessness and ignorance of officials. Autograph collectors

have stolen almost every signature of Abraham Lincoln from the documents in the various depositories of the state of Illinois. The national archives at Washington have suffered terribly from similar vandalism. Borrowers, who promise faithfully to return the documents, and thieves have been the cause of great loss. But on the whole wanton destruction at the hands of ignorant officials has resulted in the worst disasters.

A friend recently told me a story of the temporary loss and final preservation of the Santa Fe Manuscripts. For years these manuscripts, about twenty thousand dating from the seventeenth and following centuries, had been stored in the adobe house which was both the dwelling house of the governor and the executive offices. There was no system of filing in use in far-off New Mexico and the manuscripts were piled on the floor of a room. One of the American governors, who was sent there after New Mexico was made a territory, desired more room and ordered a clerk or some other employee to destroy the "manuscript rubbish." Fortunately the clerk was a thrifty soul and preferred to sell the paper to the merchants of the town as they might need it. He found it easy to dispose of, and the Santa Fe Manuscripts were sent around to the householders as wrapping for their groceries, nails, and other household purchases. Finally one purchaser noticed that the wrapping of one of his bundles was an old deed to a valuable strip of land, and he started an investigation which resulted in a public agitation. The papers were returned and finally sent to Washington where they are now to be found.

The necessity of housing the public archives of the capitol seems to be a subject that has already become a matter of serious public discussion. Only three or four states, however, have taken thought so far of the archives that are to be found in our counties and towns. Some of these records are of the utmost importance for an understanding of the history of the state. If one is to study the population intensively he must go to the archives of the county clerk, where are kept marriage records, birth records, and census records. We are no longer

in the habit of thinking that history includes only the acts and succession of governors, nor do we weave our story around the activities of congressmen and senators; but we write today the history of the people. We must understand how the men and women of the past have entered our territory, how they have lived, how they gradually formed themselves into self-governing communities, how civilization has advanced by leaps and bounds until the magnificent states of the present day have been developed. This story is one of the most magnificent that has ever been chronicled. Greater than the deeds of Rome are the deeds of those pioneer ancestors of ours who won a continent. Much of the necessary sources for such a history may be found in the little offices of the county and circuit clerks, but only a few states in the Union are paying close and careful attention to the preservation of these records or have made any effort to find out under what conditions they are kept.

In Massachusetts and one or two other eastern states surveys have been made, and officers have been appointed who have control of the local archives and see to it that the clerks make their entries correctly and are using paper that will last and ink that will not fade. Outside of these few eastern states no attempt similar to this has been made. My own state, Illinois, has been a leader in another development. During the last few years there has been made by the State Historical Library a complete survey of the local archives, and there is now in the press a report based upon the results of the survey. On the whole the conditions that have been found in Illinois are not very satisfactory. Many of the archives are housed in buildings that are far from fireproof and there have been within the last few years many disastrous fires that have swept out of existence all the local records.

One or two stories concerning conditions that have been found will be of interest to you in order to show what the attitude of the average public official is toward his records. In Belleville, Illinois, there had come down from the eighteenth century large masses of documents that told the story of the

French settlement at Cahokia. About twenty years ago it was decided to remodel the courthouse, and the circuit clerk decided that he would have a house cleaning. He came upon bundles of these old French records and ordered his janitor to take them out in the alley behind the courthouse and burn them. This was actually done with the result that from Cahokia, which was almost as important as Kaskaskia in the early history of Illinois, there have been preserved only a few documents. This happened in enlightened Illinois twenty years ago.

Another story of similar character comes from one of the men who made the survey of the Illinois county records. He was ushered by a young man of sixteen years to an attic in a certain county courthouse in order that he might see what was there. A few bookcases had been set up and the books were stored away in a careful manner, but his youthful guide proudly informed him that this orderliness was only of very recent date. A few months before this the floor of the attic had been covered knee-deep with old papers and books, and this young man of sixteen had been ordered by his superior to pick out the stuff that was valuable and destroy the rest—and this he had done. A boy without a high school education was chosen to pass judgment on the value of these documents. One can only say that this system was better than the wholesale destruction at Belleville.

The third function which the state should perform for the preservation of its history is that of the publication of the sources of information; and I mean by that contemporary documents. The first principle which I wish to lay down on this subject is that publication should be the result of careful planning.

In too many historical societies throughout the United States and Europe the method of selection of matter to be printed appears to have been haphazard. In my mind's eye I can picture a meeting of the executive committee in a typical historical society of America. Around a mahogany table there are seated several men whose real business in life is far removed

from the haunts of scholars, but who have been elected or appointed to office for social, financial, or political reasons. The president informs the company that there is a thousand dollars in the treasury and really they should print something. What should it be? A member answers this call of duty with the remark: "Well, there is Jones. He has a manuscript all ready. Why not publish that?" Without thought whether Jones's paper is particularly good or particularly valuable or whether it has any connection with their previous publications, they rush to the press, having performed their duty to the society by satisfying the mania for getting into print. Such a procedure—and the picture is not a caricature—must be severely condemned. Plans for the publication of series of volumes through successive years should be carefully worked out. There is no reason why there cannot be formulated today plans under which historical institutions will be publishing a hundred years from now. That is what the historians of Germany, England, Italy, and other states of Europe are doing. Such a plan is now in operation in Illinois, and I hope that in no far distant time such a plan will be in operation here in Minnesota. The men in charge of the work in Illinois have divided the history of the state into various periods or phases, devoting to each a series of volumes. Thus a series may be completed at any time in the future. The volumes are printed when they are ready. We have in process of making at the present time volumes belonging to six different series stretching over a period of almost two hundred years. There is no thought of including in such volumes literary productions. That is far from our purpose. We propose only to make public the sources of the history of Illinois.

For the production of such volumes skillful assistants are needed. You cannot depend upon one man to do all the work. He must be aided by skilled editors, by copyists, by index makers, and proofreaders—people who are in sympathy with the high ideals of scientific scholarship. Each volume should be an example of the best scientific editing.

One more topic and I shall have finished. Is it the duty of the state to provide for research in these sources in order to find out what their meaning is? In other words, is it the duty of the state to promote the production of historical monographs or histories of the state? If this be done, each state in our Union has an organ wherein such studies may best be promoted—I mean the state universities. In the department of history we have men who are devoting themselves to such research. We have gathered there graduate students who are hoping in the course of time to become trained historians. If the production of historical studies is a duty of the state—and I think it is—no better place for the conduct of it can be found than in the seminaries of these universities. Let such students have the freest use of the manuscripts in the historical societies or institutions. The employees of these should give them all the required help and advice, and every encouragement should be given to secure their success. In this way, without extra expense to the state, there can be secured that scholarly research which is the finest flower of our public educational system.

At the beginning of this address the story of the preservation of the great Irish epic was told. By means of incantation a miracle was wrought, a man arose from the dead and repeated the lost poem for the edification of the living. The days of miracles have long passed away and those of gross materialism are upon us. No magic powers of an Irish bard will bring back to us the countless records of the pioneer days that have been lost to us through the carelessness and ignorance of custodians. To preserve what remains we must have recourse to those means that have been summed up in that phrase heralded throughout our land, "Safety first." That must become the motto of every state. "Safety first" means archives building for the capital and fireproof buildings for the county records.

But I have failed in my duty if this is the only thought I leave with you tonight. It is a difficult task to teach a democratic state like ours the necessity of a scientific oversight of its historical records, of the need of specially trained officials

to collect, preserve, and publish the sources of history; but we of the West are learning that lesson. We are, I believe, going to prove the falsity of those charges so often made against democracies, that they never care for the higher needs of society, that they neglect the intellectual side of the state's duties. Here and there we find signs that there is budding a real sense of the state's duty to its history. In some of the states of the Union state-supported historical work of a high character is being done, and the example of these few is acting as a leaven upon the rest. The future is indeed bright, and I look forward to the time when every state in the West will be performing its duty to its past in a better manner than is done by any state today. Democracy may carry with it a tendency to level down, but in an educated democracy like ours the level must be high and always rising higher, and this makes possible the wide diffusion of an appreciation of all that is best. Among those best things which the state should do is the fulfilment of this duty to its past that its future children may be able to understand the lives of their forebears, from whose activities alone can they learn the true interpretation of those vital forces that make up their own social psychic life.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Meetings

The executive council, at a meeting on November 10, 1914, appointed Warren Upham, who has served the society faithfully as secretary since 1895, to the position of archeologist to succeed the late Professor N. H. Winchell. At the same meeting, Solon J. Buck, assistant professor of history in the University of Minnesota, was appointed to the position of superintendent of the society.

The annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society was held in the Capitol at St. Paul, January 18, 1915. The business session convened at 7:30 P.M. in the reading room of the society's library. The superintendent presented a report on the operations of the society during the year 1914. As the information in this report will be included in the *Eighteenth Biennial Report* of the society, soon to be issued, it is not necessary to recapitulate it here.

The society, by a unanimous vote, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the president to revise and consolidate the by-laws of the society and of the executive council; and said by-laws, when adopted by said council, to forthwith become effective and so remain until otherwise ordered by the society.

The triennial election of members of the council resulted in the reëlection of all the former members. The society then adjourned to the Senate Chamber, where Professor Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois and the Illinois State Historical Library, delivered the annual address on "The Relation of the State to Historical Work." This part of the meeting was open to the public and an audience of about eighty comfortably filled the Senate Chamber.

At the meeting of the executive council on February 8, officers for the triennium 1915-1918 were elected as follows: Charles P. Noyes, president; Gideon S. Ives, first vice-president; Frederic A. Fogg, second vice-president; Solon J. Buck, secretary; and Everett H. Bailey, treasurer.

The committee on revision of the by-laws, Messrs. Sanborn, Ingersoll, and Buck, appointed by President Lightner in accordance with the resolution adopted by the society at the annual meeting, reported a draft of a new set of by-laws. This was read and, in accordance with the provision for amendment in the old by-laws, was laid over for one month. The new by-laws, if adopted at the March meeting of the council, will be printed in the *Biennial Report.*

A paper on "The Minnesota State Archives, their Character, Condition, and Historical Value" by Herbert A. Kellar, instructor in history in the University of Minnesota, will be read at the meeting of the council on April 12. This will be an open meeting and all members of the society and others interested are invited to attend in the reading room of the society's library at 8:30 P.M.

Publication Plans

The Minnesota History Bulletin has been established primarily for the purpose of keeping the members, and others who may be interested, in touch with the work of the Minnesota Historical Society. It is believed that the timely publication of papers read at the meetings or contributed will have considerable advantages over the method of accumulating such material for a series of years and then publishing it in a bulky volume of *Collections.* Besides such papers the Bulletin will contain reviews of books pertinent to Minnesota history, notes on the activities of the society, perhaps occasional documents or reprints, and miscellaneous matter of various sorts. No attempt will be made to have a uniform number of pages in each issue; thus the temptation to publish articles of slight value in order to fill up space will be avoided. The issues and pages

will be numbered consecutively and when about five hundred pages have been printed, a title page and an index will be issued for the first volume and the second begun.

The publication of the miscellaneous material in the BULLETIN will make possible the reservation of the *Collections* for more unified and extensive works, the greater part of which will be documentary in character. Plans are being developed for various series in the *Collections,* each of which will have to do with a period or phase of Minnesota history and will contain all the documentary material available on the subject, and not elsewhere readily accessible in print and well edited. Work has been started on a series which will contain the messages and proclamations of the governors of Minnesota and on a bibliographical series. One volume of the latter will probably consist of a list, with descriptions and references to files, of Minnesota newspapers and periodicals, and another will be a bibliography of the works of Minnesota authors.

Volume 15 of the *Collections,* which has been edited by Mr. Upham, will be distributed in a few weeks. It contains papers read at meetings of the society and the executive council, and obituaries of deceased members from 1908 to 1914 inclusive. Mr. Upham has plans for extensive archeological work which, it is hoped, will result in time in the completion of volume 16, the first part of which, the work of Professor N. H. Winchell, was published in 1913.

Professor William W. Folwell, first president of the University of Minnesota and the author of *Minnesota, the North Star State* in the *American Commonwealths* series, has practically completed the manuscript of a new history of Minnesota. This history, which will probably consist of three volumes, will be published by the society.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING

For many years the work of the society has been hampered by the inadequacy of its quarters in the basement of the Capi-

tol. Thousands of books and numberless pictures and museum articles have had to be stored in boxes in the sub-basement or left in the Old Capitol where they are in constant danger of destruction by fire, while members of the staff have had to work in all sorts of cubby-holes and dark corners. Finally, after much earnest effort on the part of members of the society and of others who believe in the preservation of the materials for the history of the state, the legislature of 1913 appropriated five hundred thousand dollars for the construction of a building for the society and the Supreme Court.

In accordance with the terms of this bill a site was purchased and paid for with money from the private funds of the society, turned over to the state for that purpose. An architect was selected who, with members of the Supreme Court and the secretary of the society, visited buildings of a similar character in the neighboring states for the purpose of ascertaining what was necessary in the construction of the proposed building. After this and other investigations, it was found, from estimates made by the architect, that a building suitable and adequate for both the society and the Supreme Court could not be constructed within the limits of the appropriation. The Supreme Court, in view of this situation and also of the protest of the State Bar Association against its removal from the Capitol, finally reached the conclusion that it preferred to remain in its present quarters, particularly if, by the removal of the historical society from the Capitol, it could secure added space there.

As a result of this situation it was decided to apply to the legislature for an amendment to the act of 1913, eliminating the Supreme Court, providing for the care and preservation of the state archives in the proposed building, and also providing that any part of the building not in use or actually needed for the purposes of the society, might be used for other state purposes under the direction of the governor. A bill to this effect has been introduced in both houses of the legislature. Another bill, however, providing for the repeal *in toto* of the

act of 1913 has been introduced into the House, and both of these measures will come up for consideration by that body in the near future.

State and Local Archives

The American people are slowly awakening to the necessity of giving some attention to the care and preservation of the national, state, and local archives. As a result of the work of the Public Archives Commission established by the American Historical Association some fifteen years ago, the archives of about thirty of the American states have been examined and reported upon by competent men. These reports, containing more or less complete inventories of the material found, have been published in the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association.

The commission has made several attempts to secure such a report for Minnesota, but nothing was done until a few months ago when the Minnesota Historical Society agreed to coöperate with the commission in forwarding the work. The assistance of Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, instructor in history in the University of Minnesota, was secured and considerable progress has already been made. Most of the offices, vaults, and storerooms in the New Capitol and some in the Old Capitol have been examined and preliminary lists of the material found have been made.

As this work progresses, it becomes more and more evident that the present system of caring for the files of state records not in current use is inefficient, unscientific, and wasteful of space and of the time of public officials and employees. In the early days when the population of the state was small and its activities few, the quantity of records or archives was not great and it made little difference how they were cared for. Today, however, with the increased population and functions of the state, the care of these records has become a problem, the seriousness of which is not always fully realized.

For a variety of reasons the existing non-current records

and many current ones are in considerable confusion. Many documents or files of value not only for history but also for record purposes appear to be missing or incomplete, and the finding of specific documents often involves days of search. This situation is not so much the fault of the officials in charge as of the system. No one has been especially interested in the older records and frequent changes in personnel have resulted in ignorance of previous arrangements and in changes in methods of filing. Records little used have been packed away in vaults or storerooms, often unprotected from dirt and damp, and if they were arranged at first in some semblance of order, that condition has not lasted long. Fortunately the records in the New Capitol are not in danger of destruction by fire, unless, as has happened in other states, some of them should be consigned to the flames by officials ignorant of their value. Many documents, however, are rapidly disintegrating as a result of exposure to dirt and damp, while the archives which have been left in the Old Capitol are constantly in danger of destruction by a conflagration.

The remedy for this condition is to be sought in the experience of European countries and the older states of the Union. Practically all the states of Europe maintain archives bureaus where non-current records are classified and cared for by experts, and some American states—notably our neighbor, Iowa—have done the same with excellent results. Just as the state has an auditor who keeps the accounts for all departments, and a treasurer to handle the funds for all departments, so it should make provision for some agency whose business it would be to look after the records of all departments.

As the non-current records are likely to be consulted most by investigators into the history of the state, although it not infrequently happens that they have a more immediately practical use, it is quite fitting that the Minnesota Historical Society, an institution which has been collecting and caring for materials relating to the history of Minnesota ever since the organization of the territory, should be established as a State Depart-

ment of Archives and History and put in charge of this work. The society would, if given the requisite authority and funds, establish a separate archives department under the direction of a competent archivist and in the course of time the old records of the state would be cleaned, arranged, filed, and made accessible not only to historical students but to the public officials themselves.

The officers of the society, believing that a beginning should be made at once in this important work, have drawn up the following bill (House File no. 564) which was introduced by Hon. Charles A. Gilman, and is now in the hands of the House committee on state and other libraries.

A bill for an Act to Establish the Minnesota Historical Society as a State Department of Archives and History and to Provide for the Collection and Administration of Archives, Public Records, and Historical Material.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota:

Section 1. The Minnesota Historical Society is hereby established as a Department of Archives and History of the State of Minnesota, and is authorized to hold property in trust for the state.

Section 2. The said society is authorized to receive and is hereby made the custodian of such records, files, documents, books, and papers as may be turned over to it from any of the public offices of the state, including state, county, city, village, and township offices. It shall provide for their preservation, classification, arranging, and indexing, so that they may be made available for the use of the public. Copies of all such papers, documents, files, and records, when made out and certified to by the superintendent of said society, shall be admitted as evidence in all courts, with the same effect as if certified to by the original custodian thereof.

Section 3. All public officials are hereby authorized to turn over to the said society such records, files, documents, books, and papers in their custody as are not in current use.

Section 4. The said society shall, so far as practicable, cause an inspection to be made of the current records of the public offices in the state, including state, county, city, village, and township

offices; shall investigate the practices in other states with reference to the making and preservation of records and the inspection thereof; and shall include in its next biennial report recommendations for such legislation as it may deem necessary to secure the proper making and preservation of state and local records.

Section 5. The said society shall make a biennial report in January of each odd year to the governor of the state, which report shall treat of the historical and archival interests of the state and set forth the character and extent of the work of the society during the preceding biennium.

Section 6. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

Section 7. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

It will be noted that the bill relates not only to state but also to local archives. The situation in many of the courthouses of the state is probably as bad as, if not worse than, that in the Capitol. In the state of Illinois an extensive investigation carried on during the last three years by the Illinois State Historical Library showed clearly the need of action on the part of the state along the line of supervision of the making and preservation of county records. It is doubtful if the situation is much better in Minnesota, and certainly it should be looked into, for these local records are of vital importance to the people of the state.

Another point to be noted is that there is nothing mandatory about the proposed measure; officials are not required to turn over anything which they deem it desirable to retain in their offices, but they are authorized to transfer to the society, as the archives department of the state, the non-current records which, in most cases, are only a burden to them. Nor is the society required to take over at once whatever may be offered. Obviously the transfer should be made only so rapidly as the material received can be classified and arranged. In Iowa some officials were unwilling to turn over material at first, but they soon discovered the convenience of having the records cared

for by experts and now the archivist has difficulty in restraining them from transferring the material more rapidly than he can care for it.

Attention should be given also to the making of current records, for the present and future must be considered as well as the past. Much time and space could doubtless be saved and more valuable results achieved by improved methods and systems of making both state and local records. Still more important is the matter of the permanence of the materials used. Because of the inferior quality of paper, ink, or typewriter ribbons, many public records of importance are rapidly becoming illegible and much money has been spent in making copies. The proposed law would pave the way for an investigation of this whole subject and perhaps result in saving to the people of the state not only considerable sums of money but also important records, which no amount of money can replace once they are gone.

Business men and corporations provide carefully for the making, classification, and care of their records, in order that they may be readily accessible and that their preservation may be insured. Intelligent men everywhere carefully preserve files of their correspondence and other documents not only for practical purposes but for their personal, biographical, or historical value. The state and its subdivisions spend large sums of money in making records and it would seem to be but a policy of enlightened self-interest to give careful consideration to their preservation and accessibility.

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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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THE MINNESOTA STATE ARCHIVES THEIR CHARACTER, CONDITION AND HISTORICAL VALUE[1]

Archives are public records. Broadly speaking, they are those documents which reflect the official life of a community. Defined more specifically, they are the books, papers, or plans, either written or printed, which are used in the official business of any public office and are the property of the state or community.[2] The archives of Minnesota may be classified as state (including territorial) and local. It is with the territorial and state records that this paper is concerned.

The archives of a territory or state are usually kept at the seat of government. In Minnesota numerous changes in the location of the territorial headquarters during the first few years resulted in a constant shifting of the records. Governor Ramsey, who took up his official residence in St. Paul, June 25, 1849, kept the executive office, for a time, in his house on Third Street between Robert and Jackson. Rooms were secured for the other territorial officers and for the first legislature, which convened September 3, 1849, in a little two-story log building on Bench Street, "The Central House"—a far cry from the magnificent capitol of the present time. The three succeeding legislatures had little better quarters. In January, 1851, the second assembly met in a brick building on St. Anthony Street between Washington and Franklin, on the spot where the well-known Metropolitan Hotel later stood. The third legislature came together in 1852 in the Goodrich Building on Third Street just below Robert. The fourth assembly met the next year in the Chouteau Building, a two-

[1] Read at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, April 12, 1915.

[2] Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Records, *The Laws Relating to the Public Records and Public Documents,* sec. 5 (Boston, 1913).

story brick structure situated on the corner of Third and Minnesota.[1]

These first legislatures were greatly interested in the question of a suitable building wherein to house permanently the new government. One of the difficulties, the securing of a site, was solved by the gift of a tract of land by Charles Bazille to the territory on June 27, 1851.[2] Building operations were begun within a month, but the structure was not completed until 1853.[3] The transferring of archives to the new building dates from July of that year when some of the offices moved in. The fifth legislature met there January 4, 1854.[4] For twenty-seven years this capitol housed a slowly accumulating pile of records: documents telling the official story of the development of territory and state. In 1881, on the eve of the dissolution of the legislature, fire suddenly broke out in capitol and in a short time the building was practically destroyed. Fortunately most of the records were saved. There were those who thought that the fire was incendiary in origin, a supposition never proved. The citizens of St. Paul, fearing that the fire might mean the reopening of the old question of the location of the state capitol, equipped the barely completed Market Hall in a night. This Market Hall served as the seat of government pending the reconstruction of the old capitol.[5] It was July of 1883 before the last office returned to the rebuilt structure and the archives had a central resting place again.[6] The increase in the business of the state soon made these quarters inadequate and in 1893 a capitol commission was appointed by the legislature to plan, build, and furnish

[1] J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the City of Saint Paul and County of Ramsey, Minnesota,* 224, 227, 235, 284, 321, 333 (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* 4); *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* July 27, 1898, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.;* Williams, *History of St. Paul,* 144, 291.

[3] *Ibid.,* 308.

[4] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* July 27, 1898, p. 3.

[5] *Ibid.;* William Watts Folwell, *Minnesota, the North Star State,* 325 (*American Commonwealths* series).

[6] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* July 27, 1898, p. 5.

a new building. As a result of its activities, the corner-stone of the present capitol was laid July 27, 1898, and in 1905 the new building was occupied.[1] Most, if not all, of the official records of the state were removed to the new capitol, but as new departments were established, it became necessary to reoccupy the old building. Thus, at the present time, the archives of the state are to be found in the old and new capitols, with the exception of those of the state highway commission, which has its office in the down-town district.

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association has been conducting investigations for some years with a view to ascertaining just what public records exist in each state, and has been publishing reports of the progress made. Minnesota is one of the few remaining states where, until recently, no such work has been done.[2] The commission, acting in coöperation with the Minnesota Historical Society, is now engaged in making such a survey of the Minnesota archives. Since the printed material is readily accessible and fairly well known, the present preliminary investigation has been confined to a survey of the manuscript records.

One who has not gone from office to office and from room to room can have little appreciation of the aggregate bulk of valuable material which the state has accumulated since its early days. The mass has constantly increased in volume, and its proper care and supervision is a problem which administrative officials are facing to-day. The archives thus far covered by the present survey include, in the new capitol, those of the governor, the secretary of state, the auditor, the attorney-general, the insurance commissioner, the dairy and food commissioner, the game and fish commission, the superintendent of education, and the clerk of the supreme court; in the old capitol, those of the department of labor and industries, the department of weights and measures, the drainage commission, and the live stock sanitary board. For the purpose of showing

[1] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* July 27, 1898, p. 5; Folwell, *Minnesota,* 343.
[2] American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1912, p. 241.

the character of the existing documents, some of the more interesting records in the offices of the secretary of state, the governor, and the clerk of the supreme court will be considered in this paper.

The secretary of state is the recording officer of the state and, as such, is the official custodian of many documents. He is aided in his general duties by an assistant secretary and eight clerks.[1] The archives are kept in an office, an office vault, a document room with two vaults, a shipping room, and two sub-basement vaults. They may be classified as legislative, election, census, executive, corporation, bond, and land records, correspondence, and miscellaneous documents.

Among the legislative records are the original and engrossed bills which later became law, dating from 1849 to the present time, the bills which did not become law, the enrolled laws from 1858 to date, and the journals of the house and senate from 1849 to date. It will be noted that the enrolled laws for the territorial period are lacking. The file of bills which did not become law is also incomplete. The election records are not so extensive as the legislative. The returns for federal, state, and county officers are broken files, the last being the most complete. Other interesting election records are returns of primary elections and papers connected with election contests. Both of these files are of comparatively recent date. In this office are to be found the original records of the decennial censuses taken by the state since 1865, and, in addition, copies of the United States schedules for Minnesota for the years 1850, 1860, and 1870. Financial accounts connected with the census appear to have been preserved for the 1905 census only. The executive archives in this department contain a complete record of civil appointments made by the executive department from 1849 to the present date and also registers of other official acts of the governor, such as proclamations.

[1] *Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota*, 1915, p. 233.

It is the duty of the secretary of state to keep a record of the various kinds of corporations, domestic and foreign, which do business in Minnesota. Files of these corporation records date from 1857 to the present time; the railroad companies, however, because of their importance, have received a separate classification. Other interesting documents are the affidavits of the publication of official notices by newspapers, the records of the incorporation of churches, registers of trade-marks, and correspondence. Bond records include the oaths of territorial and state officials, bonds of county officials and notaries public, the records of the board of commissioners of the Minnesota railroad bonds, and peddlers' bonds. The documents relating to the county officials are not so complete as the others.

Valuable land records in the custody of the secretary of state are the original United States government field notes of surveys, which have been turned over to the state. These amount to several hundred volumes. A portion of the field notes have been copied by the state, but the copies are said to contain numerous errors. There are also a large number of plats relative to land grants, dating mostly from 1860. The correspondence archives are largely in files, arranged according to subjects. Under the heading miscellaneous may be included reports and papers of the printing commission, the shipping department, and various other departments, and papers relative to the Vicksburg and Shiloh monuments.

The governor is the chief officer of the executive department of the state and is aided by a secretary and such other assistants as are necessary for the carrying-out of the duties of the office.[1] The archives of the department are kept in two vaults adjoining the reception room and in a third vault in the sub-basement. They may be classified as constitutional, election, executive, and legislative records, records of notaries public, extradition and pardon records, official reports and communications to the governor, correspondence, and mis-

[1] *Legislative Manual,* 1915, p. 233.

cellaneous papers. An interesting constitutional document is the original constitution of the state with signatures. Among the election records are the certificates of election to the constitutional convention of 1857, petitions for establishing election precincts in 1851, and the schedule of votes on the constitutional amendment of 1872. In the executive archives is found a complete register of important acts of the governor, such as proclamations, important letters, notices of appointments, and messages of the governor to the legislature during the territorial period. The legislative records contain numerous bills vetoed by the governor and letters relating to laws exchanged with executives of other states during the territorial period. The notarial records contain numerous letters concerning appointments. The extradition and pardon records include testimony given in trials, applications for pardon and for restoration to citizenship, and papers concerning the execution of criminals. The official reports and communications to the governor include reports of various offices and departments extending over a long period. These files are incomplete. The largest series of documents in the governor's office is the correspondence, arranged in general and special files. This mass of material has to do with a variety of subjects, such as application for office, military affairs, taxation, relief, relations with the government at Washington, changes of county seats, world's fairs and expositions, internal improvements, and exchange of documents with other states. Among the miscellaneous records are those pertaining to financial accounts, papers of the attorney-general, press clippings, and the Minnesota register from the centennial exposition at Philadelphia in 1876.

The supreme court dates from territorial times. Originally it was presided over by three justices. This number was later raised to five and, in 1913, two commissioners were added. The court has both original and appellate jurisdiction and meets twice a year, in April and October, in the new capitol.[1]

[1] *Legislative Manual*, 1915, p. 258.

The records of the supreme court, in the custody of the clerk, are housed in three offices and an adjoining vault and are quite complete. They consist, in general, of rolls of attorneys, files of papers concerning cases, judgment books, registers of actions, order books, minutes of the court, naturalization records, correspondence, and miscellaneous papers.

The roll of attorneys contains the signatures of lawyers acting as attorneys and counselors of the court, affixed to an oath faithfully to perform their duties as such. The original ledger, dating from 1858, is still in use. The files of papers concerning cases contain the records of over nineteen thousand cases which have been brought before the court. The triplicate records of the court, showing the legal progress and deposition by the court of each trial, are in so-called judgment books, registers of actions, and order books, ranging from territorial times to the present. The naturalization archives contain a variety of papers concerned with naturalization matters, which formerly were under the jurisdiction of the supreme court, but which are now handled by the district courts. A few boxes of correspondence, mainly recent, were found. The miscellaneous records consist of fee accounts in connection with the court, exhibits in trials, and papers concerning the records of cases in the lower courts. The latter, upon the handing-down of a decision by the supreme court, are returned to the courts from which they were appealed.

In discussing the condition of the archives of the state, the preservation of the records will be considered first and then the manner in which they are arranged and classified. The question as to what records have been preserved can not be accurately answered in a preliminary survey of this sort. Nevertheless, an intimate acquaintance of several months with the documents themselves enables one to draw certain conclusions in the matter. A survey by departments discloses varying conditions; for the duration of the office in question, the character of its duties, the amount and nature of the space available, and the attitude of the officials are only part of the

determining influences in the drama of the preservation of any document after its current life is over. A close examination of the archives shows gaps existing in various files, but some of these are due to changes in method of classification, and the records still exist. For example, under one official, separate files of correspondence on certain topics will be kept; later, all correspondence will be thrown into a general file and the use of separate files discontinued; later still, perhaps, the correspondence will again be arranged in files by subjects.

Actual losses of documents have occurred, however. These have been due to fire, to the attitude of officials, and to the use of poor materials in the original making of the records. Though some minor conflagrations have taken place in the buildings where the daily history of the state has been kept, the only fire causing a loss of records concerning which definite information is available was that which partially destroyed the state capitol on March 1, 1881. The fire broke out a few minutes after nine in the evening, at a time when both houses were in session, and spread so rapidly that in a short time the building was untenantable. "Nevertheless, in the time given, the work of rescuing the records, archives and numberless documents stored in the various rooms was carried forward with lightning-like rapidity. There were hundreds of helping hands and from every room and passage, a busy crowd kept going, laden with bundles of written matter, books, furniture, pictures, carpets, lamps, desks and office fixtures and, in short, any and every thing portable and in the least valuable." Some civil war records from the adjutant-general's office, a few legislative bills lying on the table in the governor's office, some cases from the desk of the office of the clerk of the supreme court, three fourths of the books in the library, and some books from the rooms of the superintendent of public instruction and from the offices of the railroad commission were burned. A more serious loss, however, occurred in the document room of the secretary of state. This room was forgotten in the confusion, and a mass of general and special

laws, of executive documents, and journals was entirely consumed.[1] The fireproof vaults of the building contained numerous other archives which were found intact after the fire.

A serious problem which has had a bearing on the attitude of officials towards the preservation of records has been the lack of proper accommodations for them. In territorial times the bulk of the records was so small that there was no difficulty about housing them. But as the state grew older, as its business increased, and as its activities widened, the lack of adequate space in which to keep the archives became more and more of a problem and is now a constant complaint met with in the rounds of the departments. The enlarging of rooms, the building of vaults within offices, and the taking-over of spare areas in the sub-basement of the capitol have only partially relieved the situation. Some officials, in their efforts to solve the problem temporarily, have destroyed those papers which seemed to them no longer necessary for administrative purposes. The correspondence files have suffered rather severely from this method of solution. The removal of the state offices to the new capitol seems to have been an occasion for the destruction of some documents. A valuable series of letter copies going back to the early days of the state and containing material which can never be replaced, appears to have disappeared at that time. Ignorance of the value of original records has also played its part in the loss of archives. The destruction of various original inspection documents is an example. In some cases, where printed reports were made, the preservation of these was deemed sufficient and the originals were destroyed. The failure of officials to preserve records admits of defense, perhaps, where it can be shown that they are of little or no value, but too often, apparently, the

[1] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* March 3, 1881, p. 5. The document clerk in the office of the secretary of state contradicts the statement of the *Pioneer Press.* He says that hardly any papers were lost from his office. Such important files, however, as the enrolled laws of the territory appear to be missing and were probably destroyed at that time.

decision as to the worth of a document has been left to those who were not qualified to judge.

Another important factor in the preservation of records is the character of the paper and ink used in their construction. A failure to provide for some uniformly efficient practice in this respect has caused some documents to deteriorate through the mere passage of time. Fading ink and disintegrating paper tell the story. Correspondence of which a copy was desirable was everywhere kept, previous to the day of the typewriter, in copy and letter-press books. In Illinois and other states, where the archives are older, a great deal of money has been spent in copying old records in order to preserve them. Generally speaking, the letter-press copies of Minnesota previous to 1880 and, in some cases, so far down as 1890, are illegible; as a result valuable material on matters of interest is lost to posterity.

Thus far the causes of the actual loss of records have been considered. Attention should be called to the fact that those which remain are not altogether safe from destruction. Many of the archives are kept in vaults, the presumption being that in this way they are protected from dampness and from fire; but whether they are so safeguarded depends in each case on the vault in question. The office vaults in the new capitol are safe, but this is not true of those in the sub-basement. Certain vaults there are formed by the shutting-off of spaces, enclosed on three sides by walls, on the fourth by a wooden lattice. These vaults serve for ordinary purposes, but do not protect their contents against fire or against flooding by water. In one instance a large storeroom in the sub-basement is utilized as a vault; until it was repaired two or three months ago, the ceiling was leaky and the floor had rotted away in places. A few vaults have barred windows opening on the corridors; these would not keep out fire and water. Instead of being equipped with double doors, which offer the best protection against fire and water, the majority of the vaults in the sub-basement have only single steel doors. In the old capitol, as

may be easily learned from an inspection of the building, the records in the offices and many of those in the vaults are in constant danger from fire. Some of the vaults in the basement are reasonably fireproof. The Minnesota Historical Society has three so-called vaults there, only one of which is properly designated. The existence of two windows, protected only by iron shutters, and plaster falling from the ceiling are among the undesirable features of this vault. The remaining two are simply rooms with wooden doors. In some of the basement vaults in both the old and new capitols, doors are left unlocked or ajar for the sake of convenience. Documents housed in such vaults are not properly protected.

Still another menace to the archives is their exposure to dust and dirt. Even in one of the best of the vaults a clerk claims to have raised a crop of potatoes in the dust every spring. Some records are lying on shelves with no protective covering and a few documents are already in bad shape for this reason. In two offices the older documents are placed in galvanized tin boxes, a practice which has much to commend it. Elsewhere, heavy paper and pasteboard boxes are used; these perishable coverings gradually fall apart; the dust and dirt, sifting in on the manuscripts, makes the writing illegible, and, after a time, the documents are valueless. One vault was found with no lock to the door; the records in it, an extensive series of correspondence, were piled against one wall in letter boxes, many of which were in a bad state of decay; the rest of the room was filled with a débris of wooden boxes and books. Vaults in so bad a condition as this are, fortunately, rare.

The manner in which archives are arranged and classified determines in a large degree their value for historical or administrative purposes. A study of the Minnesota archives discloses many systems of filing. As far as current records are concerned, each department, for its own purposes, has its documents well arranged and accessible. The older archives show varying conditions, ranging from admirable systems of classification to none at all. Two self-evident reasons for this

state of affairs are the great bulk of the documents and the lack of room wherein to arrange them properly. Other important reasons are errors in classification, the lack of indexes, the misplacing of documents, the physical inaccessibility of files, and the unfamiliarity of officials with their older records.

One vault was found in which no attempt to classify the records had been made. The floor was heaped waist-high with printed reports. Among them was a series of manila folders, some of which were broken open, containing original reports, correspondence, and other matters relating to the department. These records, irrespective of the conditions in which they were found, were in themselves filed according to no recognizable system. In some cases, records had been classified originally, but the work was poorly done. In other cases, the original arrangement may have been satisfactory, but, with a change in officials, new methods of filing were instituted. Where this has happened several times, the records are in a confused state. Again, the system of classification may be clear, but there may be an omission of dates, making the chronology of documents difficult. Titles, or any indication other than internal evidence as to the character of a record, are often lacking. Pasted labels have frequently dropped off. Actual mislabeling is met with often enough to be annoying. This is usually due to the practice of dumping out old files and using the boxes which contained them for new material without changing the original titles.

The work in some of the offices is occasionally hampered by the lack of proper classification of the archives. It is said that a clerk in a certain department spent, on one occasion, as much as a week in looking for a document among the older records, and then failed to find it. If the archives in question had been properly arranged and classified, it would have been a comparatively simple matter to have found the document or to have ascertained its non-existence. Aside from the annoyance and trouble caused by the failure to find older documents, the amount of time wasted in searching is worthy of considera-

tion. There are indexes for single vaults in a number of departments, but there ought to be indexes for every room or vault where archives are kept in any amount.

Even when a proper system of classification has been adopted, it takes constant care and watching to keep it up. It is a common story among officials that persons desiring to examine certain documents have removed them from the files and either have failed to return them or have put them away in the wrong places. In such cases, the library principle that a book misplaced on the shelves is a book lost holds good. On the occasion of the erection of the new capitol, the question came up as to whether the old capitol site had not been a conditional gift and would not revert to the heirs of Charles Bazille if the capitol should be removed. It was important, therefore, to find the original deed. A search was instituted, but it could not be found. It was hoped in 1897, when an inventory was taken of the documents in the treasurer's office, that the deed would come to light. Eventually it was discovered by accident in the office of the secretary of state, where it had been misplaced in a file.[1] Outside interference occurs sometimes in other ways. Thus, when surprise was expressed at the use of two gunny sacks as containers for a large number of territorial records, the explanation was offered that a janitor had probably needed the boxes in which they had previously been stored.

The practice of keeping supplies and records in the same vault is productive of confusion and, at times, makes the records difficult of access. In one office vault a flooring of boards, supported by the tops of two steel filing cases, has been made. Piled on these boards as high up as the ceiling and extending back about five feet was found a valuable series of correspondence records; to get at them, the writer was obliged to balance on the top of a stepladder, his head between two boards, and move the boxes aside one by one. The official in charge should not be criticized for such conditions; rather

[1] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* July 27, 1898, p. 3.

should he be commended for displaying such ingenuity in filing his records. He had no other place for them. Another department, because of the lack of space in its quarters, uses a legislative committee room for the storing of a considerable portion of its records. When the legislature is in session, the lock to this room is changed, and the records are temporarily inaccessible. Another official said that there was a vault containing some of his older archives in the sub-basement, but that the key to it had been lost.

The character and the amount of the state archives, the conditions under which they exist, and the extent to which they have been classified have been considered. There remains the question of the value of this material. Records are useful both in an administrative and in an historical sense. The administrative value often passes with time, but the historical value, depending rather on the content of the documents than on their use, is more permanent. Age, in fact, often increases their historical importance because of the destruction of other materials from which the same information might otherwise have been gained. It is with the historical value of archives that this paper is concerned.

Students of history are interested to-day not only in the lives and deeds of great men, but also in the actions of the majority, in what the average man thinks and feels. The content of the state archives is valuable for the writing of history from both of these points of view, and, it must be remembered, is practically untouched for these purposes. If this material could be made available, valuable and interesting information along political, economic, social, military, legal, and many other lines could be gained.

Take, for instance, such a topic as the political influence of the Scandinavians in Minnesota. In the census schedules appear the actual names and locations of the Scandinavians in the various portions of the state. The naturalization records in the office of the clerk of the supreme court tell what proportion of the Scandinavians became citizens from year to year.

From election statistics could be determined how many of them ran for office, how many were elected, and, to some extent, the parties with which they were affiliated. The journals of the house and senate would show how many Scandinavians were in the legislature, and which of them were members of important committees, in short, would tell the story of their general activity in legislative affairs. The original and engrossed bills would disclose what bills introduced by Scandinavians became law and in what types of legislation they were interested. From the applications for civil appointments and from the registers of executive acts could be told what proportion of the Scandinavians have held civil office. The correspondence files of the various departments would throw further light on the subject.

A study of the Minnesota railroad bonds would furnish an interesting subject of research for the student of economics. He would find information in the correspondence, the vouchers, warrants, and land records of the auditor's office; in the bond records of the treasurer's office; in the election, legislative, bond, and correspondence records of the secretary's office; and in the papers of the attorney-general. The case records in the office of the clerk of the supreme court and the correspondence of the governor's office would be additional sources of information.

A valuable monograph in social history could be written concerning the various relief projects of the state. In the governor's archives are a large number of manuscripts pertaining to the grasshopper devastations, consisting of applications for relief, offers of contributions, reports of conditions from county auditors, orders for relief, and papers relating to the furnishing of grain to the settlers. Information on the subject could also be gained from the vouchers and warrants in the auditor's office, from the original and engrossed bills, from the bills which did not pass, and from the journals of the house and senate in the office of the secretary of state.

Considerable material could be gathered on the subject of

the relation of the people of Minnesota to the Indians from the reports of Indian depredations by army officers, from petitions for protection, and from miscellaneous correspondence received by the governor.[1] These sources of information could be supplemented by the Indian pension records in the adjutant-general's office consisting of applications for pensions and by lists of pensions allowed. Legislative records in the secretary of state's office would also furnish information on this topic.

Interesting legal studies on the relations of the state with the various corporations could be made from the records of the attorney-general and from the cases of the supreme court. Other studies for which information exists are the development of the railroads, the rise of the lumber industry, the settlement of government and state lands, conditions in various factories and industries, the educational development of the state, and the reclamation of swamp lands.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that, although valuable material for the history of the state is contained in the archives, such material, under present conditions, is not readily available for use. The problem, then, is, what disposition shall be made of the archives so that they may be accessible both to officials and to students of history. The same problem has been met elsewhere in various ways. One plan is to place the older records in the charge of a commission and to erect a suitable building where they can be housed and afterward classified and catalogued as rapidly as possible. Another plan is to place the records in the charge of the historical society or state librarian. Much has been accomplished along these lines in the eastern and southern states and especially in Iowa. The experience of these states as well as that of foreign countries, where the problem is much older, demonstrates that the essential element in its solution is the concentration of non-current archives under the jurisdiction of an official or institution specifically charged

[1] As an illustration of the value of the material which is available in the archives of the governor's office, a letter found among the miscellaneous correspondence is given below, page 54.

with the duty of caring for them and making them accessible. In Minnesota the most feasible procedure would seem to be for the legislature, upon the completion of the building for the Minnesota Historical Society, to empower the society to take over, classify, and catalogue such of the older archives as are no longer useful in an administrative sense. This would mean, for officials, the placing of their records where they would be under the constant care of trained attendants and where any document would be instantly available. For students it would mean the throwing-open for use of a vast amount of valuable material for history, relating not only to the state but also to wider fields.

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DOCUMENTS

A Typical Letter from the State Archives

Mr. Kellar, in his article in this issue of the Bulletin, calls attention to the historical value of the material in the state archives. The letter given below, taken from the files of miscellaneous correspondence in the office of the governor, will serve to illustrate his point. This is but one of thousands of documents of the utmost value for the study of nearly every conceivable subject in Minnesota history which have never been used by historical students and can not be used by them to any considerable extent until some better provision is made for the care and classification of the state archives. The letter throws light on conditions which prevailed among the refugees after the Sioux massacre of 1862. This memorable outbreak, coming suddenly after years of friendly intercourse and at a time when the state was doing its utmost to send its quota of volunteers to reinforce the federal armies, found the garrisons stationed on the borders of the Indian reservations reduced in numbers and ill prepared to check the first raids of the Indians. Terror-stricken, the surviving inhabitants of the outlying settlements fled to New Ulm, Mankato, St. Peter, and other river towns. The problem of housing and feeding these refugees became a most serious one, and an appeal was finally made to the state authorities for assistance.

Saint Peter Aug 29 1862

Hon Alex Ramsey Governor,

Dear Sir:

Messrs Hezlep and Ketchum of this place are sent to urge upon you prompt measures for providing food and other necessaries of life for the thousands of refugees now gathered here and at other points in this vicinity.

Many of them have lost all they had in the world, and almost

all of them must be supplied with clothing and provisions. Messrs H. & K. will inform you fully how this has been and is being done. We think every possible measure has been taken to secure promptness and economy in relieving want.

But there is a limit to the means of our citizens, farmers and merchants, and some government, either State or National, should immediately come to our help, or we shall *all,* an impoverished and starving people be in St. Paul Knocking at your doors. I cannot command language to paint to you the necessities of the emergency for *prompt and efficient action.*

The food and clothing, fuel and bedding is being taken from our houses, the goods from our stores, the grain and vegetables from our fields, to feed and supply this immense crowd of homeless, starving, naked people,—*some* of them, I am almost inclined to say to you, made so by want of proper energy in sending relief; or rather in *going* to their relief, for no one can find any fault with the action of the State Administration in sending.

The suggestions made in the letter of Gov Donelly dated "Tuesday 10 A. M." at this place, meet with our entire approbation.

If Capt Saunders will not, as U. S. Quartermaster, provide for these people we urge you to appoint a State Quartermaster who will do it, and see that our citizens are remunerated for necessary expenditures already incurred. Any other plan, however, that is more in accordance with your judgment and will answer the same End, will be equally acceptable to us.

Begging however that your action in the premises be *immediate,*

I am most respectfully your obt servant

HENRY A SWIFT[1]

[*Endorsed:*] Henry A. Swift Aug 29, 1862 report of the condition of things at St Peter

CONSCRIPTION IN ENGLAND DURING THE NAPOLEONIC WAR

The suggestion that England might possibly resort to conscription in the present war lends especial interest to the following document, which is one of several presented to the Min-

[1] Henry A. Swift was at this time state senator from the nineteenth district. The following year he was elected president *pro tempore* of the senate and became lieutenant governor on the resignation of Ignatius Donnelly; when Governor Ramsey resigned to take his seat in the United States Senate, Mr. Swift succeeded him as governor, serving from July 10, 1863 to January 11, 1864.

nesota Historical Society by John Bowe.[1] It will be noted that the names of two members of the Bowe family appear among the signatures to the document. The marks preceding the names are not to be taken as an indication that the signers were unable to write. Each signature is in a different handwriting, and the mark was probably used to add formality to the document.

Minutes of an Agreement entered into by the several subscribers to these Presents being Inhabitants or propriators of Lands or Ocupyors of Lands Tenements or hereditaments in the Township of Benaldeth of the one Part and Thomas Westray of Benaldeth of the other part Wittnesseth that Whereas the said Thomas Westray is Balloted to serve in the Militia or Army of reserve and must either serve himselfe hire a Substitute or pay his fine and whereas he the said Thomas Westray was entered into a Club which depossided a small sum of Money towards hireing a substitute which said Money is very far short for the said purpose and in order to Incourage and Assist him to hire a Substitute unmarry'd or one with only a very small family that is one whose family is not likely to be chargable to our said hamelet in consideration of which we whose Names are hereunto Subscribed or marks made Do hereby severally agree to give the sum set opposit our respective Names to the said Thomas Westray or order If he hires and gets sworn in a Young Man unmarryd as is abovementioned a Substitute to serve in the Malitia or Army of Reserve, And It is further agreed by the said parties to these presents that If the Law Compels or can Compell the said hamelet or township to pay any part of the said Money for hireing a Substitute as is abovementioned, All such as have or hereafter may Subscribe any Money to this agreement shall have such money considered as part of payment to the Rate that we may be compeled to pay by the said Law as is abovementioned In Wittness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands this 10th Day of August in Year of our Lord 1803.

	£	S	D
× Mungo Simpson	1	1	
× John Pingney Jr	2	2	

[1] See page 65 below.

	£	S	D
× Willil Rowlandie [?]	0	10	6
× W^m^ Bowe	1	1	
× W^m^ Greenhow	1	1	
× John Swinburn	1	1	
× John Pingney	0	10	6
× William Bowe Junior	0	10	6

Funeral Expenses in England a Century Ago

The following document, also from the Bowe papers, presents an interesting side light on funeral customs a hundred years ago. The information about prices of various commodities is also of considerable interest. It is noteworthy that the smallest item in each list is the payment to the parson. The document is here published primarily to illustrate the fact that so apparently worthless a paper as an old statement of accounts may become with the lapse of time a valuable source for social and economic history.

Money laid out By John Bowe for the Funeral of John Dryden

	£	S	D
A Coffin Plaite	0	5	0
Shroude	0	8	6
Makeing Shroude	0	2	6
Half a pound of Tobacco and pipes	0	2	10
20¼ pounds of Chease at 8 pence a pound	0	13	6
4 pounds of White Suggar	0	5	4
half a stone of Brown suggar at 9 D	0	5	3
A Quarter of a Stone of sugar at 10 D	0	2	10
Thre pounds of Candels	0	2	7
peper	0	0	4
A Stone of Barley	0	4	0
half a pound of Black tea	0	4	0
half a pound of Green tea	0	6	0
A Gallon of Rum	0	16	0
A Gallon of Gin	0	14	0
A Quarter Cask of Ale	0	17	6
Parson one Shilling and Clark	0	5	0
Bread	1	7	0

	£	S	D
Coffin	1	2	0
A Quarter Cask of Ale for the sale	0	13	0
A Quarter of a stone of sugar	0	2	7
Nutmeg and paper		1	4
	9	1	1

December 13, 1816

Money laid out by John Bowe for the Funeral of Sarah Dryden

	£	S	D
A Coffin	1	2	0
Coffin Plaite	0	4	3
Shroude	0	8	4
Makeing Shroude	0	2	6
Bread	1	0	0
A Quarter Cask of Ale	0	12	6
A Gallon of Rum	0	16	0
A Gallon of Gin	0	14	0
Sixteen pounds of Chease at 8 D per pound	0	10	8
Eight pounds of Butter at 9½ D	0	6	4
Paid John Fisher Grosser for sugar Candels Tobacco &	0	18	8
Tea	0	4	9
A Stone of Barley	0	4	0
Parson	0	1	0
Clark	0	4	0
A Quarten of More Tea	0	2	0
A Stone of Flower		6	4
Bread		3	0
A pound Butter		0	10
Ten Pounds of butter at 10½		8	9
	8	9	11
	9	1	1
	17	11	0

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Surface Formations and Agricultural Conditions of Northwestern Minnesota (Minnesota Geological Survey, *Bulletin,* no. 12). By Frank Leverett. With a chapter on Climatic Conditions of Minnesota by U. G. Purssell. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1915. vi, 78 p., maps, plates, diagrams)

This report, describing in much detail the surface formations and soils of the northwest quarter of Minnesota, is based on field work covering a period of eight years, conducted by Mr. Frank Leverett, United States geologist, in coöperation with Professor F. W. Sardeson and other specialists connected with the work of the Minnesota Geological Survey. Two additional reports of similar scope, treating of the northeastern quarter and the southern half of the state, are expected to be ready for publication within a year.

Accompanying the report is a large folded map, drawn to the scale of eight miles to an inch, showing the areas of the various formations, comprising the glacial and modified drift, lacustrine and alluvial deposits, and great swamps. Exceptional features noted are the beach ridges of gravel and sand marking the shore lines of the glacial Lake Agassiz, a broad tract of alluvial silt along the Red River, and very extensive areas of swamp adjoining Red Lake and stretching northward, with slight interruptions, to the Rainy River and the Lake of the Woods, and thence west to the Roseau lake and river. The only noteworthy hilly tracts are the complex series of marginal moraines, usually bearing many boulders, amassed at the border of the waning continental ice sheet, where its melting was slackened so that the border was for several or many years nearly stationary or sometimes readvanced. Associated with these moraines are many large and small areas of outwashed gravel and sand plains. Esker ridges of gravel are mapped in only two places, one being about two miles south and the other about seven to twelve miles east of Perham.

Rock outcrops are shown only at one place on the Rainy River, near Manitou, and at a few places on the Minnesota part of the shores and islands of the Lake of the Woods. This quarter of the state, indeed, has the fewest rock exposures; its eastern limit is about thirty miles west of International Falls, and its southeast corner is near the center of Crow Wing County.

It would be of great aid to those who can not conveniently consult other maps and descriptions giving details of the altitude and contour of this region, had there been inserted on this map figures indicating the height in feet above the sea level of lakes, rivers, and railway stations. Such notation would show, for instance, the height of Red Lake to be 1,176 feet; of the water divide in the vast swamp about six to eight miles north of the lake, about 1,195 feet; and of the Lake of the Woods, 1,061 feet. A somewhat elevated tract, named Beltrami Island, having an area of 1,167 square miles above the contour line of 1,200 feet, lies northwest of Red Lake, above which its highest part rises 135 feet. Instead of a sense of altitude, however, the traveler, accustomed elsewhere to see hills and mountains, receives in nearly all of this region an impression of a country quite monotonously low and flat.

For what Minnesota lacks in scenery she has adequate compensation in her fertility of soil, in her wealth of forest and iron ores, and in her salubrity of climate. Within the area covered by this report lies the most notable agricultural district of the state, the wide and very flat Red River Valley, where wheat and all crops adapted to this latitude yield in unsurpassed abundance, while no climatic conditions of occasional and exceptional droughts, or of too heavy rains, or of frosts in the growing season, have ever caused a general failure of crops.

For the determination of the various factors in immigration, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and every phase of industrial, educational, and moral advancement, probably the weather, all that we call climate, exercises more important guidance and control than even the topographic features of a country, the geologic conditions of underlying rocks, and the chemical composition of soils. The history of any land is influenced in largest degree by the climate, and secondarily by the geologic structure. Therefore the historian may very advantageously study the care-

fully compiled climatic records of Minnesota graphically shown by a series of nine small page maps of the state and by ten tables of weather statistics presented in the second chapter of this report by Mr. Purssell, the United States weather observer in Minneapolis.

Another interesting page map shows the diverse sheets of the glacial drift, the loess-covered driftless area, and the bed of Lake Agassiz; and the last of the series delineates the areas of forest and prairie, the latter occupying the southern and western third of this state.

WARREN UPHAM

English Lutheranism in the Northwest. By Rev. GEORGE HENRY TRABERT, D.D. With an introduction by Rev. G. H. GERBERDING, D.D. (Philadelphia, General Council Publication House, 1914. xiii, 184 p.)

This book is an account of the beginning and growth of the English Lutheran Church work in the northwestern states. Since immigration from the northern European countries began to decrease, the great problem of the Lutheran Church has been to adjust itself to the conditions created by the rapid Americanization of its young people. The transition among immigrants and their descendants from a foreign language to English necessitated the organization of English congregations if these people were not to be lost to the Lutheran faith. As early as 1856 Rev. William A. Passavant of Pittsburgh visited Minnesota and made plans for establishing English Lutheran churches. Definite action was deferred, however. The great stream of immigration as well as the Civil War diverted attention from the English work. In 1881 Dr. Passavant, as chairman of the home mission committee of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, made two visits to Minnesota and secured a location in Minneapolis for an English church. The result was that the home mission committee called Rev. George H. Trabert of Salem Church, Lebanon, Pennsylvania, to go as a missionary to Minneapolis. His report to the general council of a preliminary trip in April, 1882, is here reprinted in full.

The work was begun in the spring of 1883. Rev. Trabert has been a pastor in Minneapolis since that time and has taken a

prominent part in the expansion of the English Lutheran work. The present volume is largely a personal narrative of his experiences. Considerable progress has been made, and at present the general council has two English synods in the Northwest. These are the English Synod of the Northwest and the Pacific Synod. Scandinavian and German pastors have not supported the English movement with much enthusiasm. In late years, however, the Scandinavians especially have been pushing forward rapidly, and it is to be regretted that Rev. Trabert does not deal more fully with the progress of English work in the Scandinavian synods. The annual reports of these church bodies contain valuable data on the subject.

Rev. Trabert's book is an important contribution to the history of the Lutheran element in the Northwest. It is especially valuable in connection with the problem of the transition from the foreign to the English language in its relations to Lutheranism. "While much more should have been done," says Rev. Trabert, "it must be borne in mind that it was pioneer work, inasmuch as it was begun practically at the beginning of the transition of the several foreign languages into the English" (p. 158). Rev. Trabert believes that the "differences of nationality and of language will soon step into the background" and that the Lutheran Church in America, one in language and faith, has a great future.

A few errors are noticeable. Rev. Trabert has no authority for claiming that his was the first English Lutheran congregation northwest of Chicago. An English Lutheran mission was started by the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America in Portland in 1869. The name "Sverdrop" (p. 36 and repeated on p. 37) should be Sverdrup. The index to the book is very inadequate.

T. C. Blegen

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Meetings

The principal business at the meeting of the executive council on March 8, 1915, was the consideration of the proposed new by-laws. The draft reported by the committee on revision at the February meeting was taken up in detail by the council in committee of the whole and a number of amendments were incorporated, after which the new by-laws were formally adopted by the council. The charter and amendments and the by-laws have been printed in pamphlet form and distributed to all members of the society. They are included also in the appendix to the *Eighteenth Biennial Report.*

No formal business was transacted at the stated meeting of the council on April 12, because of the lack of a quorum. The meeting was thrown open to the public, and an audience of about thirty listened to the paper by Mr. Kellar which is printed in this number of the Bulletin.

At a called meeting of the executive council, held on April 29, three resolutions were adopted. The first of these authorized and directed the executive committee to purchase and convey to the state the "Lamprey property, being known as lot number 3 in block number 1 of Central Park addition to the city of St. Paul, at a price not to exceed twenty-five thousand dollars cash, or securities satisfactory to the owner in an equivalent amount, to be used as a site for the building to be erected for this society." The second resolution authorized and directed the executive committee "to represent and act for the society and the executive council before the board of control, governor of the state, and other state authorities, and in all other respects and matters pertaining to the construction and erection of the building for the society, its equipment and furnishing and plans and specifications therefor." Still another resolution adopted at this meeting defined in a comprehensive way the duties and powers of the executive committee under the new by-laws.

Building Progress

On April 16, 1915, the Governor signed an act amending the historical society building act of 1913, which removed all difficulties in the way of prompt construction of a building for the society. The original act with the amendments effected by this act incorporated is printed in the appendix to the *Eighteenth Biennial Report*. The essential changes are: (1) the elimination of the supreme court from the building and the provision for the care of the state archives therein; (2) the crediting of the thirty-five thousand dollars paid by the society for the Merriam site toward its donation of seventy-five thousand dollars and a provision allowing the society to select and purchase another site and receive credit for the amount so expended toward the donation.

Too much credit can not be given to the legislative committee and especially to Messrs. Ives (chairman), Sanborn, and Ingersoll for securing the passage of the measure. Valuable assistance was rendered also by members and friends of the society throughout the state. Hon. F. A. Duxbury of Houston piloted the bill through the senate, the vote being 47 to 2. In the house, a place on a special order was secured through the courtesy of Hon. Elmer E. Adams of Ottertail; the purpose of the bill was explained briefly by Hon. J. B. Sanborn of Ramsey; and it passed by a vote of 78 to 30.

As soon as possible after the bill was approved by the Governor, the executive committee of the society held a joint session with the board of control to consider the question of procedure under the act. Mr. Clarence Johnston, the architect of the board, having reached the conclusion that the so-called Lamprey site would be large enough for the proposed building, the society purchased the site and caused it to be conveyed to the state. This ensures an excellent location on Cedar Street facing the lawn in front of the Capitol and in conformity with the original plan for the development of the capitol approaches. After several conferences between the architect and the executive committee tentative plans were agreed upon, and the architect is now at work upon detailed plans and specifications.

Gifts

Many books, pamphlets, circulars, manuscripts, pictures, and museum articles are donated to the society by its members and friends, who realize that they can thus ensure the permanent preservation of the material. Only a few of the more interesting and valuable gifts received during the first four months of 1915 can be noted here.

John Bowe of Canby, Minnesota, presented to the society twenty-two old books, manuscripts, and curios. One of the books is printed in the Coptic language and one in Chinese. Another is a small geography in Spanish, printed at Barcelona in 1889 and used in the schools at Columpit, Philippine Islands, at the beginning of American occupation. Most of the manuscripts are old English documents and several of them are written on parchment. The oldest bears the date of February 15, 1698. Two of the more interesting of the manuscripts are printed elsewhere in this number. Among the curios are a petrified book taken from St. Pierre near Mount Pelée; a piece of featherweight wood from Porto Rico; a piece of white rock from King Solomon's mines, said to be the same material as that used in the Temple of Solomon; alabaster from the mosque of Mohammed Ali at Cairo, and a carved stone from the Dead Sea. Especially interesting is a copy of the issue for July 4, 1899, of *Freedom,* an American newspaper published in Manila. This contains several articles by American soldiers describing experiences in the Philippines, and a playlet entitled "Such is Life in Manila."

Mr. Fred A. Bill of Minneapolis, president of the Read's Landing Association of the Twin Cities, presented to the society thirty-five reproductions on postcards of old pictures of Read's Landing and vicinity; also a copy of a manuscript written for the North Dakota Historical Society on "Steamboating on the Red River of the North." Mrs. Bill presented a copy of the initial number of the *Waumadee Herald* published at Read's Landing with the date of May 9, 1857. The editors of this paper, Joseph and William McMaster, were brothers of Mrs. Bill. The number was not actually issued until May 12 and on the afternoon of that day Joseph McMaster and another brother, Thomas,

were drowned while sailing on the Mississippi. The second number of the paper was issued by Norman E. Stevens, August 15, 1857. This information is gleaned from a manuscript account of the paper and its editors written by Mrs. Bill to accompany the copy presented to the society.

General C. C. Andrews, an honored member of the society, from whom it has received many donations, presented eleven bound volumes of manuscript reports and communications from town fire wardens, rangers, and others, made to the forestry commissioner of Minnesota during the year 1910. He had previously presented a similar set of reports for the years 1895 and 1896 in ten volumes. General Andrews was forest commissioner and chief fire warden from 1895 to 1911; in 1911 he was appointed secretary of the newly organized state forestry board, a position which he still holds.

Seven sacks of government documents were received from Hon. Frederick C. Stevens, member of Congress from 1897 to 1915. Such of these as prove upon examination to be duplicates of volumes already in the library will be turned over to the St. Paul Public Library.

Through the kindness of Adjutant-General Fred B. Wood, the society received from Dr. Brewer Mattocks of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a collection of swords, badges, and medals used or collected by him during the Civil War. Dr. Mattocks was hospital steward of the Second Minnesota Volunteers from June 27, 1861 to June 30, 1863, and assistant surgeon of the Seventh Minnesota Volunteers from June 30, 1863 to August 16, 1865.

The society has received from the Minnesota House of Representatives an engrossed copy, handsomely bound in full leather, of the resolutions adopted by that body, March 10, 1915, on the death of Mrs. Chester G. Higbee. Mrs. Higbee was suddenly stricken in the Capitol on the evening of March 4 at the close of a stirring appeal before the house prison committee, urging the establishment of a woman's reformatory in Minnesota, a project for which she worked earnestly for many years. It was peculiarly fitting that the body before whom Mrs. Higbee had so often

appeared in behalf of delinquent girls and women should authorize the preparation of this memorial volume, "a permanent record of her gentle life and splendid achievements."

Through the courtesy of the Librarian of Congress the society has secured a copy of a very rare pamphlet entitled *Rural Sketches of Minnesota, the El Dorado of the Northwest; Containing Full Descriptions of the Country—its Productions, Villages, State of Society, &c.; Together with a Series of Letters upon Northern Wisconsin, its Appearance, Improvements, &c.; with a Table of Distances,* by H. W. Hamilton (Milan, Ohio, C. Waggoner, printer, Tribune office, 1850. 40 p.). The society already possessed a manuscript copy of portions of this book made by former secretary J. Fletcher Williams from a copy borrowed from the Wisconsin Historical Society for that purpose. When it was discovered a short time ago that there were two copies of the pamphlet in the Library of Congress, a request was made for one of them, and the librarian was kind enough to authorize its transfer on exchange account. The *Rural Sketches* consists of letters written by a young Ohioan who traveled through the region described in August and September of 1850. They tell of the trip from Chicago to Minnesota and contain accounts of St. Paul, St. Anthony Falls, Stillwater, and other villages in the territory. The return trip was made by way of the Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Fox rivers, and the villages along the route are described. Intimate details of social conditions and comments on individuals add spice to the narrative.

Another pamphlet of a similar character, of which a manuscript copy was made by Mr. Williams, is entitled *Minnesota, a Description of the Natural, Political, Mechanical, and Agricultural State of the Country, Presenting Prospects for an Immediate Organization into a New Territorial Government,* by Rev. J. W. Putnam (Galena, W. C. E. Thomas, printer, 1849. 27 p.). Unfortunately the Wisconsin Historical Society copy which was used for this purpose is incomplete, four pages being lacking, and so far no complete copy has been located. The New York State Library had a copy which was destroyed in the fire of 1911. Information which would lead to the location of another copy of this pamphlet would be greatly appreciated. The society should have

a copy in its library, but if one can not be secured, the next best thing would be a complete transcript or photographic reproduction of a copy in some other library.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri vie with each other in honoring the memory of General James Shields. A statue of General Shields was unveiled in the Minnesota state capitol last November, and recently another was erected on the courthouse square in Carrollton, Missouri. The Missouri legislature in 1913 appropriated ten thousand dollars for this purpose and wisely provided in the law that the commissioners in charge of the work should keep a record of their proceedings and deposit it with the State Historical Society of Missouri. This record, according to the April, 1915 number of the *Missouri Historical Review,* shows that the statue is of bronze, mounted upon a base of Missouri red granite, the whole standing nineteen feet high. It is the work of Frederick C. Hibbard of Chicago. A photograph of the monument and a biography of General Shields by Captain Henry A. Castle, doubtless similar to the sketch just published in volume 15 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections,* are embodied in the record. The inscriptions on the monument are:

Front

"General James Shields. Born in County Tyrone, Ireland, May 10, 1810. Died at Ottumwa, Iowa, June 1, 1879. Erected by the State of Missouri in recognition of his distinguished public service and exemplary private virtues."

Back

"Soldier, Statesman, Jurist. Cerro Gordo, Chapultepec. Brigadier General Mexican and Civil Wars. Winchester, Port Republic. United States Senator from Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri; Governor Oregon Territory; Commissioner U. S. Land Office; Justice Supreme Court of Illinois. Act Missouri General Assembly, 1913. Senator Wm. G. Busby, Author. Edward A. Dickson, Harry C. Brown, Hiram J. Wilcoxson, Commissioners."

The November, 1914 issue of the *Winona Normal Bulletin* contains the report of the committee of five appointed by the history round table of the Minnesota Educational Association, Professor

O. M. Dickerson, Winona State Normal School, chairman, on "Library Equipment for Teaching History in Minnesota High Schools." The data collected by the committee show that only about one half of the students in attendance at the high schools of the state are studying any history and only a little over six per cent are enrolled in courses in American history. With due allowance for the fact that many who enter high school do not finish, these figures would indicate that at least one half of those who graduate have no work in American history, while of those who fail to finish the course the proportion is much greater. It is difficult to see any good reason why the courses should be so arranged that twenty per cent of the students enrolled take ancient history; ten per cent, European history; and only six per cent, American history, in a given year.

The report shows a need for better equipment if library work in history of value is to be done by the high schools, and advocates a standardizing of such equipment. Selected topics, with references for library work, are presented for ancient and European history. Another committee of the history round table, with Dr. A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota as chairman, is now engaged in the preparation of a working syllabus for the history teachers of the state.

The thirteenth *Year Book* of the Carnegie Institution of Washington for 1914 (Washington, 1915. 399 p.) contains the report of the director of the department of historical research, J. Franklin Jameson, for the period from November 1, 1913 to October 1, 1914 (pp. 158-68). Separates of these pages have also been issued. Students of the history of the Northwest will be especially interested in the statement in the report that Mr. Leland's work in Paris on the guide to the materials for American history in French archives was almost completed when the war put a stop to further operations. The investigations which have been or are being carried on in the archives of England, Scotland, and Switzerland will be of value to those interested in emigration from these countries to America. Progress is reported upon the atlas of the historical geography of the United States which is being prepared under the direction of Dr. Charles O. Paullin.

The *Catholic Historical Review* is the title of a new quarterly published by the Catholic University of America at Washington. If the promise of the first number (April, 1915) is fulfilled, this magazine will take rank with the *American Historical Review* and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* as one of the most important and scholarly periodicals in the historical field in America. The first issue contains a number of articles followed by sections entitled Miscellany, Documents, Book Reviews, Notes and Comments, Bibliography, and Books Received. One of the articles begun in this number is "Flemish Franciscan Missionaries in North America (1674-1738)," by Right Rev. Camillus P. Maes, in which the early career of Father Hennepin is recounted. The Miscellany contains the beginning of a calendar compiled by Rev. Raymond Payne of the very rare and little known *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich,* which was published annually from 1829 to 1860 and contains a large amount of correspondence between Catholic missionaries in the United States and officials of the association. The first installment lists letters from various parts of the Northwest, which appears to have been the principal field of work in the early years at least. The compiler had access to the nearly complete set of the *Berichte* owned by Rev. A. I. Rezek of Houghton, Michigan, and he has given numerous illustrative extracts in the footnotes. In the section devoted to Bibliography a plan for a comprehensive bibliography of American Catholic history is outlined.

The Champlain Society has recently issued two volumes of its *Publications.* Volume 9 (Toronto, 1914. 617 p.), edited by Arthur G. Doughty, is a reprint of the second volume of Captain John Knox's *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760* (London, 1769). Volume 10 is reserved for the third volume of this *Journal* and volume 11 (Toronto, 1914. 555 p.) is the third and concluding volume of Marc Lescarbot's *History of New France,* reprinted from the third edition (Paris, 1617), together with an English translation and notes by W. L. Grant. Both of these volumes measure up to the high standards set by the society for its publications not only in editorial work, but also in the format.

The North Carolina History Commission has issued its *Fifth*

Biennial Report for the two years ending November 30, 1914. The commission has recently moved its quarters from the Capitol to a new fireproof building constructed by the state. One of its most important functions is the care and classification of the public archives. The correspondence of the governors since 1776, containing about twenty-three thousand manuscripts, has been classified and partly arranged in 158 boxes. This, the secretary reports, "is a mere beginning upon the immense collections which make up the body of the State's archives."

"The Activities of the State Historical Society of Iowa" are described at length in a paper by Professor Louis B. Schmidt, of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, in the March number of the *History Teacher's Magazine*. The article brings out clearly the emphasis which this institution has placed upon research and the publication of monographic studies in Iowa history and political science.

The *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, is publishing in installments a very interesting and valuable work entitled "Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi, descriptive, personal, and historical," by Captain George B. Merrick of Madison, Wisconsin. The publication began with the issue of September 20, 1913, and is expected to continue about five years. Accompanying each installment is a section entitled "The Old Boats—Additional Information from Men Who Know . . . Supplementary to Captain Merrick's Narrative."

A "History of the Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest, 1824-1840," by Homer J. Webster of the University of Pittsburgh, is published as the January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (120 p.). While not bearing directly on Minnesota history, the subject belongs to the background of the political history of the state, for a knowledge of the machinery of politics in Indiana, Illinois, and the other states of the Northwest before 1840 is essential to an understanding of Minnesota politics during the fifties. It is to be regretted that Dr. Webster confined himself so closely to the newspapers when there is a wealth of correspondence, both manuscript and printed, bearing on the subject.

The Great Northern Railway Company, through its agricultural extension department, F. R. Crane, agent, has recently published an interesting pamphlet entitled *How to Make the Farm Pay* (St. Paul, [1915]. 26 p.). A brief account of the company's campaign for improved methods of agriculture in the Northwest is followed by statistics of demonstration work on a large number of farms and by suggestions for improvement of conditions, methods, and results.

The folly of not providing fireproof buildings for valuable books and manuscripts was strikingly illustrated by the fire which destroyed the St. Paul Public Library on the night of April 27, 1915. Although the flames were discovered shortly after they broke out and the fire department put forth every effort to check them, yet the building and its contents were almost entirely destroyed. Of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand volumes in the building at the time practically all were consumed or rendered useless. About thirty-three thousand volumes were in circulation or at stations, and, very fortunately, two small lots of books had recently been stored in fireproof places outside the building. One of these consisted of about five hundred rare and out-of-print books, and the other was a collection of about four hundred volumes of St. Paul newspapers. The preservation of these newspaper files, which supplement those in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society, is a matter of congratulation to historical students. A serious loss of material of historical interest was the destruction of an extensive collection of St. Paul and Ramsey County documents.

The insurance on the contents of the building, about one hundred and forty thousand dollars, is considerably less than the value of the books lost, but this amount will provide a nucleus for the purchase of a new collection. Many of the books, pamphlets, records, and papers, however, can never be replaced with any amount of money. This is especially true of the manuscripts of two books dealing with the history of the Library of Congress and with the administration of university libraries, which Dr. Johnston, the librarian, had written and which were nearly ready for publication.

The burned building was one of the old landmarks of St. Paul.

It was erected more than sixty years ago, and has had a long and varied history, having served as public market, town hall, theater, temporary state capitol, forum, courthouse, and prize-fight arena. The library was reopened on Friday, April 30, in the old House of Hope Presbyterian Church on the corner of Fifth and Exchange streets, where it will have temporary quarters until the new fireproof library building, which has been under construction for some time, is finished.

The value of historical pageants as a means of arousing popular interest in history, particularly local history, is being more and more recognized. Those interested in the subject will welcome Ralph Davol's *Handbook of American Pageantry* (Taunton, Massachusetts, Davol Publishing Company, c. 1914. 236 p.). The first part of the book deals with the nature, purposes, and possibilities of pageantry; while the second part takes up various practical problems involved. Extracts from a few librettos and many photographs of pageant scenes are included.

An interesting old diary which recently came to light among the archives of the state prison at Stillwater, Minnesota, records that in 1852 a certain prisoner, on his refusal to work, was promptly and without argument shot and killed by the guard, whose act was later pronounced justifiable by the courts.

Minnesota Publications

The *Fourth Annual Report* to the Minnesota Forestry Board by the state forester, William T. Cox ([St. Paul], 1914. 99 p.), is an interesting and valuable résumé of the work of the forest service. Numerous illustrations, maps, and diagrams add to the value of the report.

The *Eighth Annual Report* of the state fire marshal, Charles E. Keller (St. Paul, [1915]. 52 p.), contains statistics on the losses due to fire in the state during the year 1914, together with sections devoted to the causes of fires, fire prevention, and detection and punishment of incendiarism.

The state department of banking has issued a *Report* by Albert H. Turrittin, superintendent of banks, for the biennium ending

July 31, 1914 (1914. 357 p.). The document deals with "the condition of the banks of discount and deposit, savings banks, trust companies, building and loan associations and other financial institutions."

The *Eighth Biennial Report* of the Minnesota Public Library Commission (St. Paul, [1915]. 48 p.) covers the two years ending July 31, 1914. The three parts of the report deal with field work, traveling libraries, and progress in Minnesota libraries. Two valuable maps illustrate the location of public and traveling libraries and the number of books in such libraries per hundred of population in each county. Statistics of public, free association, subscription, institutional, college, school, and special libraries are presented in tabular form. The secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society is, *ex-officio,* a member of the commission.

The *Thirtieth Annual Report* of the state railroad and warehouse commission (1915. 858 p.) covers the year ending November 30, 1914. Three quarters of the book is devoted to statistics which will be of great value to the future historian of transportation in the state.

The *Fourth Biennial Report* of the Minnesota Tax Commission (1914. 435 p.) contains discussions and statistics of present value to the economist and of future value to the economic historian. Neither the title page nor the letter of transmittal indicates when the biennium covered by the report began or ended.

The *Report* of the state highway commission for 1914 (1915. 242 p.) consists of a report of the state engineer describing the work of road construction in the state during the year. The folding map "showing state roads and state rural highways" which accompanies the report is not very well executed.

The state drainage commission has issued a *Report* (St. Paul, [1915]. 66 p.) describing the work done under its direction during the years 1913 and 1914. The pamphlet is illustrated with photographs and contains a number of valuable folding maps and charts.

George J. Ries, county auditor of Ramsey County, Minnesota, has had printed a *Financial Statement* for the fiscal year ending

December 31, 1914, showing receipts and disbursements of state, county, village, town, and school funds in the county during the period covered.

The *Report* of the department of assessor of the city of St. Paul and the county of Ramsey for the year 1914, by Frank L. Powers, assessor ([St. Paul, 1915]. 19 p.), contains information of value to city officials and property owners.

The *Thirty-third Annual Report* of the board of water commissioners of St. Paul (St. Paul, 1915. 36 p.) covers the year 1914. Besides extensive statistics the report contains a chart illustrative of the organization of the water bureau under the new charter.

The *Fifteenth Biennial Report* of the board of managers and the superintendent of the Minnesota State Public School at Owatonna (Minneapolis, 1915. pp. 333-72) sets forth the work of the institution during the biennium ending July 31, 1914.

In the *Eighteenth Biennial Report* of the board of directors and the superintendent of the Minnesota School for the Blind (Faribault, 1915. 59 p.) is presented a survey of the work of the school for the two years ending July 31, 1914. Of especial interest is the account of the Field and Employment Agency for the Blind, authorized by the legislature of 1913. The agency secretary has been traveling through the state, looking up the blind, ascertaining "their personal condition, means of support, degree of dependence, and general status in the community of which they form a part"—the first step taken by the agency in the solution of the problem of assisting the adult blind to be self-supporting.

Number 3 of volume 11 of the *Carleton College Bulletin* is the annual *Catalogue Number* (Northfield, March, 1915. 136 p.).

Volume 17, number 2 of the *Bulletin* of the University of Minnesota comprises *The Annual Register* for the year 1913-14 (Minneapolis, 1915. 202 p.). Besides general information about the university, it contains lists of the faculty and officers of administration, of students, and of degrees granted in 1913.

In the *Twenty-second Annual Report* of the agricultural experiment station of the University of Minnesota for the year ending June 30, 1914 (University Farm, St. Paul, 1915. 72 p.) the director, Dean Albert F. Woods, reviews at some length the progress made in the experimental and research projects of the various divisions of the station.

The St. Mary's Hospital of Rochester, conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis, has issued its *Twenty-fifth Annual Report* for the year 1914 (Rochester, 1915. 43 p.).

The League of Minnesota Municipalities held its second annual convention at Mankato, October 21 and 22, 1914. The *Proceedings* ([Minneapolis, 1914]. 160 p.) was prepared by Professor G. A. Gesell, head of the municipal reference bureau of the University of Minnesota, and contains important papers, reports, and discussions.

The Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of the state of Minnesota has published the *Proceedings* of its fifty-third annual convocation, held in St. Paul, October 13, 1914 (St. Paul, 1914. 56 p.).

The *Proceedings* of the Masonic Veteran Association of Minnesota at its twenty-third annual reunion in St. Paul, January 19 and 20, 1915 (vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 535-80) contains biographical sketches of thirty-six recently deceased members.

The Third Minnesota Infantry Association has published the *Proceedings* of the thirtieth reunion of its members held in St. Anthony Park, September 9, 1914 (10 p.).

The Minneapolis branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has issued its *Thirty-first Annual Report* for the year ending October 1, 1914 ([Minneapolis, 1914]. 97 p.). In addition to the official minutes of the annual meeting held at Detroit, October 1 to 5, 1914, reports of the officers concerned with the various activities of the society and the articles of incorporation and by-laws of the Minneapolis branch are included.

The Guild of Catholic Women of St. Paul, Minnesota, has pre-

sented a survey of the work of the society in its *Eighth Annual Report* for the year 1914-15 (32 p.).

The *Minutes* of the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Minnesota, held at Red Wing, September 22-25, 1914 (Minneapolis, 1914. 149 p.), besides minutes of the convention, contains reports of officers, addresses, reports of branches and department work, and a directory of district and local unions and allied organizations in the state by districts and counties.

The *Annual Report* of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs for the year 1914-15 (Minneapolis, [1915]. 133 p.) includes, in addition to reports of officers and committees, a directory of affiliated clubs arranged alphabetically by towns, with courses of study, number of members, and names of officers; state organizations; data on district and county organizations; and the constitution and by-laws of the federation.

Studies in the Marketing of Farm Products, issued as number 4 of the *Studies in the Social Sciences* of the University of Minnesota (Minneapolis, 1915. 113 p.), contains three papers by Professor L. D. H. Weld and five by students in agricultural economics. Most of the papers deal with conditions in Minnesota.

Secondary Stresses and Other Problems in Rigid Frames: A New Method of Solution, by George Alfred Maney, instructor in structural engineering, University of Minnesota (Minneapolis, 1915. 17 p.), is the first number of a series entitled *Studies in Engineering,* issued by the University of Minnesota.

Minnesota Public Utility Rates, Gas—Electric—Water (University of Minnesota, *Current Problems,* no. 3), by Gerhard A. Gesell, assistant professor of economics, University of Minnesota (Minneapolis, 1914. 254 p.), is the second of a series of studies which are being conducted by the municipal reference bureau of the general extension division of the university.

Community Centers, by Raymond V. Phelan, instructor in economics, University of Minnesota (Minneapolis, 1915. 15 p.), is a recent publication of the general extension division of the University of Minnesota, issued as number 25 of the *General Series* of the university's *Bulletin.*

The Minnesota school of mines experiment station of the University of Minnesota has issued as its *Bulletin,* no. 3, *Preliminary Concentration Tests on Cuyuna Ores* by William R. Appleby and Edmund Newton (Minneapolis, 1915. 66 p.).

The Source of the Father of Waters, by William T. Cox, state forester (St. Paul, 1914. 22 p.), issued as Minnesota Forest Service, *Bulletin,* no. 3, is a sketch of the exploration of the headwaters of the Mississippi River; there is added a description of Itasca State Park and information about its management.

The Medical School of the University of Minnesota and the Mayo Foundation for the Promotion of Medical Education and Research ([Minneapolis, 1915]. 14 p.) is a pamphlet issued by a university committee and presents arguments in favor of the affiliation of the university with the foundation.

Saint Paul, Minnesota, a pageant of history, by Elizabeth Clay Rogers Magoffin, was presented at the Y. W. C. A. Auditorium in St. Paul on the evening of May 22, 1914. The poem has been privately printed by the author in an edition of one hundred copies (1914. 14 p.).

The Men and Products of Saint Paul, "The Star City of the North Star State," together with the 3rd Annual Saint Paul Almanack for 1915 (St. Paul, [Corning Advertising Agency], 1915. 64 p.) contains, in addition to the usual medley of more or less amusing quips and quirks, cuts, with biographical data, of about a score of prominent St. Paul business and professional men. It is issued as a premium for subscribers to the *Razoo.*

The *Directory* of the Minneapolis public schools for the year 1914-15 ([Minneapolis, 1914]. 86 p.) contains lists of officials and teachers; several pages are devoted to matters of general information. A similar *Directory* for the St. Paul public schools has also been issued (St. Paul, 1914. 55 p.).

In the *Yale Law Journal,* November, 1914, pages 12 to 33, appeared an article by Rome G. Brown, of Minneapolis, on "The Water-Power Problem in the United States." The article has been reprinted in pamphlet form.

The Scope of Charity, by Rev. James Donahoe (2d ed., St.

Paul, 1914. 339 p.), presents a treatise on charity from a Catholic point of view. A Minnesota man, the author makes use of Minnesota examples and discusses conditions and endeavors in the state. Some of the subjects treated are mothers' pensions, the minimum wage, social settlement work, the liquor problem, and state charitable institutions.

The following articles of interest on economic subjects by John H. Gray, professor of economics in the University of Minnesota, have been reprinted as separates: *The Public View of the Railroads' Need for an Increase of Rates* from the *Journal of Political Economy,* 23:105-27 (February, 1915); *Public Administration and Practical Training for Public Service* (11 p.) from the *Proceedings* of the First National Conference on Universities and Public Service, New York, May 12 and 13, 1914; *Economics and the Law* (23 p.) from the *Supplement* to the *American Economic Review,* volume 5, number 1 (March, 1915). Another article by Dr. Gray, entitled "The Control of Public Utilities with Special Reference to Current Theories of Valuation," appeared in volume 1, number 3 of the *Discussions* of the Economic Club of San Francisco (pp. 3-38).

A "Memoir of Newton Horace Winchell" by Warren Upham is published in volume 26 of the *Bulletin* of the Geological Society of America (1915. pp. 27-46). It concludes with an elaborate bibliography of Winchell's writings arranged according to dates of publication from 1861 to 1914 and containing 270 items. A few separates have been issued.

The Album by Frank Wing (c. 1914. 96 p.) consists of pictures "shown to the new neighbor by Rebecca Sparks Peters, aged eleven." It is a reproduction of a series of clever cartoons which appeared in the *Minneapolis Journal.* "Turn Over" is the suggestive cover title.

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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

EDITED BY

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TRIBAL DANCE OF THE OJIBWAY INDIANS

In July, 1911, at the Bois Fort Indian Reservation in northern Minnesota, I was a spectator of the tribal dance of the Bois Fort Ojibways. I call these Indians Ojibways because that is their true name, acknowledged by them and understood in history. The name "Chippewa," by which they are known locally, is merely a corrupt form of the word "Ojibway." "Bois Fort," freely translated, means "thick woods," so that the term "Bois Fort Ojibways" means "Ojibways of the thick woods." It may be added that this is their ancient Indian name. They were known as "wood Indians," and were, in this way, distinguished from Ojibways of the river, the plain, or the lake.

The dance took place at night, beginning at about nine o'clock. Although during all the preceding day a large number of the Indians had participated in a pagan religious ceremony, beginning before sunrise and ending at sunset, marching, dancing, singing, and invoking, yet nearly all of them appeared at the tribal dance apparently fresh and unwearied.

The scene of the festivities was within a round, coliseum-like building. The structure contained little sawed lumber. Its uprights and walls were of split cedar. The floor was formed of pounded clay, and, no matter how active the dancers were, little dust was raised. The great chamber, fifty feet in diameter, was illuminated by large, old-fashioned lanterns. A bench was nailed around the wall for spectators and participants. But it seems that white spectators, who were entirely free to enter and look on, and even to dance, if they chose, were expected to sit on the west side, near the entrance. No one noticed or intruded upon the spectators. It was their privilege to see and be silent. The first familiarity, if any was indulged in, had to come from the whites.

In front of this bench, which extended around the hall, was

the circular track, eight or ten feet in width, of beaten clay and very smooth, on which the dancers traveled. In the very center of the room was a great drum, the tom-tom, whose "boom-boom-boom" could be heard a mile. This sweet-sounding drum was of Indian manufacture, and during the dance it was beaten by four or five drummers striking the great diapason in unison with sticks padded on the striking end. The drummers sat on benches around the drum; and back of and around them sat a score of vocalists who, during the dance, sang in a high, clear, smooth treble, harmonizing with the drum. The booming drum and chorus of Indian voices made stirring dance music. Behind the singers, all around, most of the women, girls, and children sat, gossiping, laughing, listening, and watching.

About nine o'clock the people came straggling in, stately warriors, lissome girls, fat dames, raw-boned youths, and groups of lads and lassies. All glanced at me, a white man, where I sat with the reservation doctor, but that was all. They were neither curt nor courteous; they ignored my companion and myself with Indian taciturnity.

The drummers took their places around the drum, the choristers behind them. Then some singer broke out in a wailing, monotonous treble, the drum joining in. But the dance did not then begin very actively. A few boys circled around, a group of the elders tried their paces a little and subsided. Most of the women who came in carried bundles containing bead headdresses and sashes for their husbands, lunches, and gifts. In general, the women donned no ornaments. They wore, in truth, their best gowns, but it remained for the warriors to gleam and glisten in bead and feather, in bright sashes, headdresses, leggings, and moccasins. Some wore the footwear of the white man, as being better to dance in.

Let us now acquaint ourselves with some of the participants. Chief Moses Day (Day-bway-wain-dung, which, freely rendered, is "One-who-can-be-heard-from-afar") was there. He is over seventy summers old, but is erect and active. I saw him at sunrise that day; he had been for sixteen hours par-

ticipating in the Medawe religious dances, had made many speeches, had eaten a man's share, and yet here he was ready to dance and frolic until another sunrise. What white man of seven decades could do as much? During the day ceremonies he was attired in solemn black; his coat was of that cut worn years ago by professional men; his hat, a high-crowned derby; on either cheek he had daubed a small, modest splash of vermilion. At the tribal dance at night he wore the same garb, supplemented, however, by a headdress of feathers, very moderate and becoming, a beaded sash, and a few other bright-colored trappings. He was a very Chesterfield in courtesy, a Washington in urbane dignity. No wonder he was admired by the women and honored by the men. He is a fine old Indian politician, chief of the tribe, that is, the civil chief. He had no hereditary right, but had succeeded in pushing aside No-be-day-ke-shig-o-kay, the heir to the throne, son of Farmer John. It seems that among the Ojibways heirship is in the male line, as at common law; not in the female line, as among the Iroquois. This old warrior likes white men very well. I am certain that old Moses was that sort of Indian who, in ancient times, raised his voice for mercy when others shouted for death by fire at the stake.

May-jish-kung, John Johnson, was in attendance, in full regalia. His name signifies "One-equal-to-an-emergency," or "One-who-does-things." This Indian was the chief medium, sorcerer, invoker. He claims knowledge of the occult and the future, and is the high priest of the Me-da-we-win, that is to say, the man among them who knows the future, can invoke spirits, and advise wisely. He is clearly a deceiver, but I think an honest one; on the whole, auto-deceived, he deceives the others. He did not dance at all; perhaps he felt that it would lower his dignity. May-jish-kung is an old-time conservative, a veritable standpatter. He stands for the past, for all things Indian, and bitterly resents innovations, while he sees them coming on all sides.

We have often read of that chief who, in the woodland

council, always stood for war, for death and the stake, for the forest life as against that of the whites. This old medium is of that temper, that is, he lives and will die a hostile, although, to be sure, he is no lawbreaker now. Of all the company, he sat apart alone, erect, his brown eyes blazing, dreaming of the days of old when his clan was known and honored from the salt sea west to the Mississippi, in all that region where now an alien and hated race holds sway.

All informants said that Kay-ke-way-aush was over eighty years old. His English name is O. M. Johnson; I missed getting the translation of his Indian name. It should be said that these English names have been merely tacked on to these people for convenience, sometimes by a logger for whom they have worked, or by the United States authorities. They answer to the English name in English-speaking company and to the Indian name—their real name—among their own people.

Kay-ke-way-aush was a fine old sprite. Merry and urbane like Moses Day, he lacked the latter's ability and ambition. He was one of those who, in days gone by, would have merrily applauded a burning at the stake, or as cheerfully acclaimed the release of the intended victim. He would be happy under any and all conditions, whether it rained or the sun shone; whether there was wild rice and moose meat in the tepee, or nothing but old skins to chew on. Nothing really mattered to him. There are millions like him who are not Indians.

Ne-be-day-ke-shig-o-key, a good-looking hunter and guide of fifty years, was at the dance. His name, translated literally, signifies "Sound-traveling-from-cloud-to-cloud"; more freely rendered, it becomes "Rolling Thunder." He is known to the white world and on the government records as George Farmer, and is one of the few Bois Fort people who speak English.

His younger brother is A-win-e-be-nais, Charley Farmer, a clever boat-builder. His Indian name means "Bird-that flies-in-fog." Perhaps its figurative significance is Sharp-Eye, or Hawkeye, as a bird which flies in fog must see clearly, but I

am not sure about that. He speaks very little English, but one is led to suspect that he knows more of the hated tongue than he admits.

These two are the sons of old Pe-ta-wah-na-qua-be-nais, Farmer John, who died three years since. They said that he was then one hundred years of age. He was the acknowledged chief, and his own memory went back to the early days of the nineteenth century. Their mother still lives. Her name is Ta-tah-guash-eke, meaning "Cold-winter-storms," or something like that. George Farmer is a capable guide, a good hunter, and a man well esteemed. He usually holds some small post under the government in the tribal service. Charley Farmer is an able mechanic. His boats, built of half-inch cedar, sell readily and are well known. Both of these respectable men are pagans and stand for the ancient Indian beliefs. They were present all day at the Me-da-we-win ceremonies carried on under the direction of the four high priests of the Medawe lodge, and they and their families were at this tribal dance at night, well dressed, as village business men might be, but, in addition, decorated with little crowns of feathers, bead sashes, and leggings. They circled in the dance actively. Both of these men have enough knowledge of reading and writing to be able to conduct their simple affairs. They are Indians through and through, the younger brother being a real fanatic in red patriotism; the elder is no less patriotic but has probably grown colder with years, and is, perhaps, conscious, from long observation, of the hopeless inferiority and incapacity of his race, but he adheres to his people.

The grand leader of the dance, the master of the most intricate gyrations, he who was the cynosure of all eyes, was a lithe veteran of seventy years, Ah-mah-kah-me-ke-mung, or, as he is known to white people, Andy Fields. His dance costume was gorgeous. Over his ordinary dress he wore large sashes, breech clouts, aprons and leggings of black velvet decorated with thousands of beads of various colors. On his feet were moccasins of the whitest moose skin, highly ornamented.

He wore a headdress of bright feathers, fastened in a band of beaded skin. He carried in his hand a tomahawk gaily trimmed with bright ribbons. When Andy circled the dance path, leading a special group of dancers, swinging his tomahawk and shouting his dance cry, carrying his seventy years as though they were but twenty, there was no one, squaw or warrior, who saw him who could refrain from feeling admiration and expressing approval. His dancing was so far superior to that of any of the others, his activity and skill were so much greater, the grace of his movements was so surpassing, that no one challenged his leadership. He was, indeed, the belle of the ball.

At Indian dances it is the men who shine in splendor of dress and color. The women, like the female birds in the woods, are content with quiet apparel. They are less forward than the men and less prominent, like, for instance, white men at a civilized function. They admire the dress and personal beauty of the warriors in the same way that white men at a ball admire the dress and bask in the charm of white women.

At this tribal dance few of the women stood out from the mass, but Sah-kah-me-quay-beake, wife of Chief Moses Day, was noticeable. She was a fine, capacious dame, weighing easily two hundred pounds, with bright eyes and broad brow, and wearing ever on her fine face a pleasant look. She had wound about her a great coil of green ribbon, and when she moved in the dance, the ends and loops trailed after her. Possibly the success of Moses Day in tribal politics was in a measure based on the advice of this capable squaw.

There were present about thirty warriors or adult males, the same number of married women, thirty or forty young men and women, as many boys and girls, and at least a score of children under ten years, not counting the babes in arms. The mass of the men were ordinary persons, very much alike in appearance. The married squaws as a rule were corpulent. The young men were raw-boned and active. Several of them bound strings of round sleigh bells about their knees and added

this jingling melody of the bells to that of the Indian orchestra, but they did not go in strong for bead work and feathers. The young women were plain and retiring. The children under ten years danced with the others, and it was pleasant to see the tiny lads and lasses participating side by side with their grandfathers in the festivities. The dancing of some of the clean-limbed lads was delightful to look at. They were easy, graceful, and tireless.

I have told how the old Indians took part in this tribal celebration. It should be added that their age was no bar at all to their full participation. The aged led the dance and were honored at all times. This seems a little contradictory to what has been said about the Indians abandoning their aged and suffering them to die without care. That this has been done is unfortunately true, but the fact is that a person was never abandoned because of years, but because of helplessness, incapacity to keep upon the march, or inability to hunt. No one was abandoned who could bear a fair share of the burdens of life.

At intervals during the tribal dance it is customary to have short orations. These are given by anyone who wishes to speak, and all who take part, however unpopular they may be, are listened to with respect. If the sentiments expressed are disapproved of, they are heard in silence. If they meet with approval, words of satisfaction are heard here and there through the assembly. There is no set program; the speakers arise during the intervals between the dances and speak impromptu. These orations at the tribal dance are usually devoid of religious significance. They deal with the business of the tribe, its affairs with the agent, its land questions, and its litigation. Occasionally someone will be moved to tell a story, or will try to "get the laugh" on a friend by exposing some blunder he has committed, but all is done in the best of humor. In fact, it is remarkable how contentedly these Ojibways live together, how affectionate they are to one another, how tender of one another's feelings and rights. I have heard it said that

one can not be profane in Ojibway, and that when a warrior for any cause is angry to the swearing point, he expresses his ire in the vile English lingo he has picked up in the lumber camps of the region. The speeches, however, are delivered with calm urbanity. No one beats the air, rages, and thunders. The voices are well modulated, the talks short, and it seems as though each speaker had something important to say or some humorous tale to relate.

The task of describing the dance itself is not an easy one. Some fancy steps are indulged in by the more distinguished beaux and young men, but these consist, on the whole, of a side-stepping of the feet, always close to the ground, with back to the outside wall, and face to the music in the center, the movement keeping time to the Manitou drum and the singers. Aside from the special dances, which are only occasional, there is only the grand tribal dance on this occasion. Those who take part all circle, facing the music, without joining hands. A few will start, and then others will join them, until perhaps practically all the natives are in the circle, calmly dancing, dancing, dancing, in a sort of dreamy hypnotism. Elderly women consort together and so do the children and warriors, but there is no fixed rule. Mr. Winchell thus describes this tribal dance step: "The steps were a uniform double-treading, with the forward part of the foot, first on one foot and then on the other, the knees but little flexed and the body bent slightly forward, keeping time with the drum beats."[1]

It is not really an elaborate dance, but one in which all, from the toddling babe to the venerable patriarch, can and do participate. This makes the dance what it is, the tribal prayer. Conceive a band of these aborigines in the dim light of the coliseum, circling to the boom of the tom-tom and the high notes of the singers, feeling a glowing spirit of natural companionship, forgetful of all else in the world but themselves. The dance is a

[1] Newton H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota*, 612 (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1911).

sort of inarticulate speech arising from the crowd, which says: "We are the people, the original people, the An-ish-in-aub-ag. We are the spontaneous ones, and this world is ours. We know and love the land and water, the sky, the sun and moon and sparkling stars. We love the birds and beasts and fishes, and we are a part of everything. We have always been here dancing. We own everything and we will possess everything when we die. What do we care for anything, we, the spontaneous ones."

When they dance, all worry seems to pass from them. The nation is in motion, and that begets a fine, general sympathy, each for all and all for each. Rancor melts, and affection takes its place. In the tribal dance the pagan Indians express a national prayer to their gods. As the dance proceeds, everything seems small to them, except kindness, mercy, good nature, and mutual affection. Forgotten are cold, hunger, weariness, and trouble; forgotten the long vigil of the chase, the injustice of the white man, the wrongs of the Indian.

Let it be remembered that this Indian dance has been practiced by these people for untold ages. They danced before ever a Spaniard found his way across the sea. In various parts of this country there are many civilized Indians, many to whom the culture of the whites is an open book. They have discarded everything of savage life, except a love for the wilds and a love for the tribal dance. This love persists and will continue to persist as long as Indian blood flows, and, where three or more possessing this love do meet, they will dance. Many Indian children of both sexes have gone out from their native homes, and the boys have become cultured men, and the girls refined and civilized women. Such as these have come to love civilization and even to think in its language. To them the sordid lodge in the wilderness is repulsive; the smoke of the wigwam chokes them; the half-cooked flesh fills them with disgust. Yet when they are brought into contact with the tribal dance, all else is forgotten, and they feel, at least for the time, that they

need not be ashamed of their race, that it has its roots deep in the past, and that its place is secure in the hereafter.

The dance, beginning at sundown, lasts indefinitely into the night. There is little feasting, but occasionally a young warrior circulates among the company and distributes a little food, consisting of cooked wild rice, a few crackers, cakes of maple sugar, pinches of tobacco. I saw also the circulation of the calumet, or peace pipe, well filled and lighted. Each person puffed once or twice. The pipe-bearer, holding it in his hand by the bowl, proceeded from one to another. This refreshing puff was tendered even to the small boys; and, while no one could fail to admire the friendly spirit in which the big pipe was carried about, it seemed to me that no more certain method of circulating disease could be contrived. But these Ojibways have no knowledge of germ theories and contagion, and it can not be said that they would be more healthy if they had. They eat, drink, and smoke as our grandfathers did.

As the night advanced and the people warmed up in the dance, their hearts grew soft towards each other and an exchange of gifts began. This gift-giving is very characteristic of all Indians. At the religious and ceremonial dances which took place during the preceding day, the sick woman, May-nin-way-bun-dun-oke, had given away to her guests clothing, utensils, and provisions, worth at least one hundred dollars. These gifts represented the family savings of many months, but all were freely given. We often read how the redskins of the Pacific Coast give away at their potlatches the savings of a lifetime. The Indian agent at Bois Fort reports that his charges at their dances had, on occasion, impoverished and disarmed themselves by their impulsive gifts to Canadian Indians, who were guests in their village, presenting them with their clothing, their rifles, their ponies.

A proud Ojibway at a public dance will not rest content to be the recipient of a gift. Forthwith he cancels the obligation by a reciprocal offering. Hence at times this exchange of gifts

seems sordid and from this circumstance has been derived the expression, "Indian giving." A generous redskin impulsively gives his coat to his friend; that friend, overwhelmed with gratitude, forthwith shows his appreciation by giving in return his rifle, his pony, his blankets, or something else of value.

WILLIAM E. CULKIN

DULUTH, MINNESOTA

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The state historical societies of Wisconsin and Minnesota began their careers in the same year, 1849, one year after Wisconsin became a state and while Minnesota was just entering the territorial status with nine years to wait before it should be admitted to the Union. During the threescore odd years of its existence the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has constantly held the lead among similar institutions of the West, serving the people not only of the state but of the whole country by gathering and preserving an invaluable collection of manuscripts, by building up a great library and an excellent museum, by extensive and scholarly research and publication, and by stimulating an interest in history throughout the West. Various factors have entered into this success, not the least important of which is the liberal financial support which the society has received from the state, especially since the construction, fifteen years ago, of the magnificent building in which it is now housed. Equally important, and in part an explanation of this liberal support, is the fact that the destinies of the society have been guided during the greater part of its career by two remarkably able men, Lyman Copeland Draper and Reuben Gold Thwaites. The death of Dr. Thwaites in October, 1913, was followed by the appointment of Dr. Milo M. Quaife as superintendent, and the volume before us[1] gives every indication that the services of the society will be not only continued but extended under his direction. To the members and friends of the Minnesota Historical Society, which is soon to be housed in a new building and, it is hoped, to enter on a career of increased usefulness, a review of the present condition and activ-

[1] *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its sixty-second annual meeting held October 22, 1914 (Madison, 1915. 286 p.).

ities of its twin sister in an adjoining state, as set forth in the latest volume of *Proceedings,* ought to offer encouragement and valuable suggestions.

The staff of the Wisconsin Historical Society consists of the superintendent, an assistant superintendent, eight heads of research, order, catalogue, reference, newspaper, manuscript, public document, and museum divisions, and fifteen assistants—twenty-five in all—besides sixteen caretakers under state civil service control. So large a staff naturally calls for a considerable maintenance fund, and for the year 1913–14 the society received from the state $70,948. Of this sum $12,209 was returned to the insurance fund of the state, so that the amount actually available for the maintenance of the society and its building was $58,739, an increase of $11,239 over the amount available during the preceding year. The actual expenditure for the year, exclusive of the insurance items, was $50,331, of which $36,936 was for salaries and other services; $5,978 for books, periodicals, furniture, and museum exhibits; and $1,790 for printing and illustration. In the spring of 1914 a new wing of the society's building was completed at a cost of $162,000. The total cost of the building as it now stands has been $782,000, and it is doubtful if it could be constructed to-day for less than a million dollars.

In addition to state appropriations the society has private funds amounting to $85,970, divided into a general and binding fund of $38,283, an antiquarian fund of $18,468, and seven other funds devoted to special purposes. The receipts for membership fees and the sale of duplicates are divided between the first two of these funds. Part of the income of the different funds is regularly used for the specified purposes, and the balances at the end of each year are added to the funds. Among recent bequests to the society are about $12,000 from Mrs. Kittie E. V. Hollister, and $10,000 from Dr. Thwaites.

The estimated strength of the society's library is 375,000 titles, nearly equally divided between books and pamphlets. Accessions during the year ending September 30, 1914, were

5,084 books, 5,588 pamphlets, and 262 engravings, photographs, and maps, a total of 10,934. Seventy-three per cent of the accessions were gifts, and the remainder, purchases and exchanges. The large proportion of gifts is due in part to the activity of the society in collecting documents of states, municipalities, and organizations, as well as the publications of the United States and foreign countries. The document and newspaper divisions of the library are growing so rapidly that, notwithstanding the recent construction of the new wing, it is estimated that all the space available for these departments will be filled in three or four years.

The great collection of Draper Manuscripts is well known to historical scholars, but this is by no means the only important manuscript material possessed by the society. Collections of papers of men of prominence in the building of the West, diaries, sometimes in the original and sometimes copies, and miscellaneous documents of all sorts are constantly coming in. All of these are carefully arranged, filed, catalogued, and thus made accessible to students; unless, as occasionally happens, the donor request that they be withheld from the public for a certain period. The most notable recent addition of manuscripts consists of the Civil War papers of the governor's office. In accordance with the general authority conferred by an act of 1913 Governor McGovern turned over these papers—several thousand in number—to the society, thus relieving his office of the care and housing of the material and, at the same time, making it accessible to historical investigators. Another important collection secured by the society comprises the papers of the late Luman H. Weller of Iowa. Congressman Weller was actively identified with the Greenback and Populist parties and the labor movement, and his papers, together with the Donnelly Papers, recently acquired by the Minnesota Historical Society, offer a wealth of material to some historian of radicalism in the Northwest.

The newspaper division of the library receives regularly about three hundred papers published in the state and two hun-

dred from outside. Especially important for the student of economic history is its large and growing collection of trade journals and labor papers. In addition to these current accessions about one hundred volumes of old files were acquired by gift, exchange, or purchase during the year. Of especial interest among these are complete files of two papers published in Nashville, Tennessee, as the organs of the two parties during the exciting presidential campaign of 1840. Illustrative of the value, other than historical, of preserving newspaper files is the fact that papers from the society's collection were twice used in important lawsuits during the year. One of these was a case before a United States court in a far-western state, and the society's file of the paper needed was the only one which could be located.

It is a truism to those familiar with large libraries that they are of little value unless carefully and scientifically classified and catalogued, but it is difficult for a layman to realize the amount of labor involved in this work. The cataloguing staff of the Wisconsin Historical Society numbers five trained workers, but the force is said to be inadequate to the task in hand. The growth of the general catalogue necessitated the purchase of an additional case of 312 trays, making 936 now in use, each with a capacity of a thousand cards. Special catalogues of documents, genealogies, labor union material, and maps, manuscripts, and illustrations are kept up. This division has charge, also, of "a Wisconsin biography catalogue, listing biographies, obituaries, and portraits of prominent Wisconsin men," which is frequently consulted by newspaper men.

The main product of the research and publication division is the monumental set of *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* numbering twenty volumes. For many years these have consisted entirely of original material, while papers read at meetings and contributed have been published in the annual volume of *Proceedings.* A comprehensive analytical index to the *Collections* has been in preparation for a number of years and will soon be published. This will be followed in the course of time by

another volume which will complete a series on the fur-trade in Wisconsin. Much of the material for this series comes from the archives of the United States government, and the society has for some time had an agent at work in Washington searching for Wisconsin material. Thousands of documents selected have been transcribed or reproduced by means of the photostat. This work is not confined to fur-trade material, but a clean sweep is being made of documents in the government archives of value for the history of the state. Copies have also been secured of much Wisconsin material in the Canadian archives, either for publication or for preservation in the society's manuscript collection.

Custodians of large collections of historical manuscripts are coming more and more to recognize the importance of calendaring the papers, and the Wisconsin Historical Society has set an excellent example by issuing a calendar volume of part of the Draper Manuscripts.[1] This volume has been in preparation for several years and another is now under way. Part of the documents in this collection dealing with the West during the Revolutionary period are being published in the *Draper Series,* of which three volumes have been issued and a fourth is in preparation. The expense of this publication is borne by the Wisconsin Society, Sons of the American Revolution.

Another field in which there has been considerable publishing activity during the last decade is that of Wisconsin Civil War history. Some time ago the legislature created a separate Wisconsin Historical Commission to exploit this field, but this commission has always been in practice an adjunct of the society, and the legislature of 1913 terminated its existence and devolved its functions upon the society. The last publication of the commission was *An Artilleryman's Diary* by Jenkins Lloyd Jones (Madison, 1914. 395 p.), a work of great historical value. A social and economic history of the state during the war by Frederick Merk of the society's research staff, a

[1] *Preston and Virginia Papers* (Wisconsin Historical Society, *Publications, Calendar Series,* 1. Madison, 1915).

study which was started for the commission, is now nearing completion and will be published by the society.

An innovation on the part of the new superintendent is the publication of a monthly editor's news letter "designed to disseminate correct and timely information on matters of interest to the Society, and on historical subjects generally." This is sent to over three hundred papers, many of which use it, in part at least, for copy. The society supplies, also, each month to the press editor of the University of Wisconsin an historical article of almost a thousand words, copies of which are distributed to forty-two metropolitan papers throughout the country for publication in their Sunday issues. The superintendent believes "that this work constitutes a real, although modest, educational service to the state and the public generally. This will seem true especially to those who, like the writer, have frequently groaned in spirit over the amazing capacity of the typical metropolitan reporter for disseminating misinformation when he chances to deal with historical subjects."

The work of the research and publication division will undoubtedly be facilitated by the rearrangement of the building, made possible by the construction of the new wing. The museum floor of this wing is now available for an auditorium when one is needed, and the old auditorium, which was never adequate as such, has been cut up into a suite of rooms for the research workers. Five members of the staff devote a part or all of their time to this division, and it is expected that one or two additional research assistants will be appointed in the near future.

The leading position of the museum of the Wisconsin Historical Society is widely recognized, and it is frequently visited by curators of similar institutions in other states in search of suggestions. The construction of the new wing furnished additional space for exhibits and made possible the construction of an adequate museum office. Many new exhibition cases were installed during the year, and the collection was largely rearranged. Of especial interest and educational value are the

New England kitchen and the pioneer drug store. Considerable emphasis is laid on special exhibits, thirty of which were held during the year. These were along such diverse lines as old-fashioned Christmas gifts and material illustrative of Christmas customs in foreign lands; Civil War material for a Grand Army encampment; Ainu, Chinese, and Japanese objects; bookplates and bookmarks; American agricultural machinery, 1840–60; postage stamps; and Japanese wood-block prints. Four successful exhibitions were held in the museum rooms by the Madison Art Association, one of them consisting of a collection of oil paintings illustrative of upper Mississippi River scenery by Frederick G. Sylvester. These special exhibits regularly attract large numbers of visitors to the museum and add greatly to its value.

The educational possibilities of a well-arranged museum are coming to be recognized by school-teachers, and forty-two classes, with a total of almost a thousand pupils, visited the rooms during five months. Nearly one half of these came from twenty cities and villages outside of Madison. All of the classes are accompanied by their teachers and are guided by members of the staff. Considerable use is made of the museum, also, by classes in the university, and the curator occasionally conducts excursions to sites of historical and archeological interest. One of these was composed of about one hundred teachers from all over the state, who were in attendance at the university summer school.

The concluding section of the report of the executive committee, which is practically the superintendent's report, is entitled "A Proposal for an Archives and Library Building," and deals with a problem which will soon be a pressing one in each of the American states: Shall the rapidly accumulating mass of newspaper files, documentary publications, and manuscript archives or public records be preserved, and, if so, how shall this be accomplished? Throughout the civilized world except in America the first part of the question has been answered in the affirmative, and buildings have been constructed or set aside

for the purpose of housing the national and local archives. The printed documents and newspaper files are usually cared for in the regular libraries. In America little attention has been paid to the preservation of newspaper files; few of the states have complete collections of their own published documents, to say nothing of the documents published by counties and cities, other states, the federal government, and foreign nations; while nearly every governmental office, national, state, or local, is burdened with a mass of old records and papers which receive little care and are likely to be destroyed to make room for more current material.

While the problem of storage space need not be a pressing one in Minnesota for a number of years after the construction of the building for the historical society, it will inevitably reappear in time, and Dr. Quaife's proposal is worthy of consideration. "The present Library building," he writes, "is a splendid structure—necessarily, therefore, it is an expensive structure. It would be possible to construct a plain, yet dignified and equally roomy building at much less cost than the present one. These observations are made with no view to disparaging the wisdom of the men responsible for the present building; in common with all other Wisconsin citizens the writer is immensely proud of it. In no other way could Wisconsin have advertised herself to the world more favorably or profitably than by the construction and maintenance of this magnificent temple of intellectual endeavor. Fully recognizing this, the question still presents itself, is the state willing to spend the money necessary for providing with equal liberality for the future growth of the Library? If willing, is it wise and necessary that it should do so?"

The original plan of the building of the Wisconsin Historical Society contemplated still another addition across the back which would make it a hollow square. Instead of the construction of this addition, when more space is needed, it is proposed "to make provision for the growth of the Library by removing the public document and the newspaper and periodi-

cal divisions, which are of especially lusty growth, from the present building and housing them in an adjoining and more economical structure. At an expenditure equal to the sum which the Park Street addition will cost such a structure could be erected as would meet the needs of the situation from the Library point of view for a full generation yet to come. Further than this, if situated and planned, as it should be, to admit of future additions, provision would be afforded for indefinite growth.

"Thus far the situation has been considered from the view point of the Library alone. That the State will refuse to provide reasonably for its future growth is inconceivable. How such provision may be made to the best advantage is the only point to be considered. The suggestion already advanced finds its strongest reinforcement in the consideration of another and, probably, more important problem of State administration."

"The new State Capitol is a much more splendid building than the Library, and eight times as costly. Unlike the Library building, its design admits of no additions to provide space for future needs of government. Ten years ago the State of Minnesota erected a similar building, regarded by the citizens of the State with pride similar to that which we manifest concerning our own splendid seat of government. Long since the building has proved inadequate to house the various branches of the State government. A recent legislature provided for the construction of a building adjacent to the Capitol at a cost of $450,000, to house certain of these branches.[1] In our own case, if popular report can be credited, our new Capitol building is becoming overcrowded even before its completion. It scarcely requires statement that before a decade has elapsed Wisconsin will be brought face to face with the same embarrass-

[1] Dr. Quaife evidently had in mind the act of 1913, appropriating not $450,000, but $500,000 for a building for the Minnesota Historical Society and the Supreme Court. As amended by the last general assembly, the act now provides for a "building for and adapted to the use of the Minnesota historical society and for the care, preservation and protection of the state archives."

ment from lack of space in the Capitol to house the various departments of government, which our neighboring state has already experienced.

"One method of postponing this embarrassment, and the consequent necessity of removing branches of the State government to other buildings, would be to relieve the Capitol of the great masses of state records that have accumulated during the eighty years since Wisconsin became a separate political entity. Their removal to an archives building would redound to the advantage of all the various interests concerned. The overcrowded vaults and filing cases of the various offices, relieved of the masses of material whose usefulness from the view point of current administration has ceased, would provide ample accommodation for the more recent State records and those which are needed in the daily administration of the government.

"Leaving out of account the important consideration of economizing space in the Capitol building, a positive administrative gain would result from such a disposition of the State records. Wisconsin's records are fairly complete. They have suffered much less than have the records of most of the states from such agencies of destruction as fires, removals, improper housing, and indifference on the part of their custodians. While this is true, their system of arrangement—conspicuous in many cases for lack of system—is bad. From the view point of administrative efficiency and economy a decided improvement would follow upon their collection and orderly arrangement and indexing in a suitable archives building.

"Assuming the desirability of this, it is obvious that both administrative and scholarly considerations demand that the building be erected in proximity to the Historical Library and be administered by the Library staff. Wisconsin is conspicuous among the sisterhood of states for the care with which her historical interests are conserved and cultivated. Nor is this a recent development, for the State Historical Society is but one year younger than the State itself. There is no good reason why the professional training and knowledge of the Historical

Society staff should not be utilized to the utmost by the State. In the nature of things this professional training qualifies the staff to administer the State records better than can possibly be done by the ever-changing procession of State officials, who not only lack continuity of tenure and professional training, but whose time and interests are devoted to other and quite different problems. Another consideration worth noting is that by entrusting the State records to the care of the Historical Society centralization of system and housing will succeed the present multiplicity of systems and diversity of storage places.

"From the view point of the scholarly and historical interests involved such a combination of the State archives with the Historical Library would be wholly admirable. Archival materials are as the potter's clay to students of government, economics, history, sociology, and the allied branches. At the present time, although the State's archives are less than a mile away from our great University, they might almost as well be nonexistent so far as any use of them by scholars is concerned. In a recent conversation the senior professor of American history in the University stated that it was practically useless to send any of his students to the Capitol to consult them. Nor is this intended as a reflection upon the attitude of the officials in charge of the various branches of the State government. However willing they may be—and they are, as a rule, an uncommonly courteous group of men—they are practically helpless to assist the student in his quest. A concrete illustration may be afforded by the recent experience of the writer. With the Governor's permission to remove certain Civil War documents from the executive office to the Historical Library he repaired, with one assistant, to the Capitol to do the work of selecting them. The obliging attendant succeeded in finding one chair, and clearing half of one small table for the use of the two workers, and with such accommodations the work of sorting was done. Were the State records housed in proximity to the Historical Library and made accessible to students the change would con-

stitute an advantage to the scholarly interests of the State, whose importance can scarcely be overestimated.

"That such a plan of administering the State archives is by no means novel, appears from an examination of the practice pursued in other states. To mention only a few, Iowa has a Memorial Building which houses the State Historical collections and library and the archives, both under the custody of the curator of the State Historical Society.[1] South Dakota has a department of history and archives, a branch of the State government, housed in the Capitol. Alabama has also a department of history and archives. In some states the natural process of local evolution has brought forth a different arrangement, while in still others the care of the records and the preservation of materials for State and local history have been left largely to chance. In Wisconsin, considerations alike of administrative efficiency, of economy, of scholarly interest, and of local evolution all unite to favor such a solution of the archives and Historical Library problems as has been suggested."

The extended influence which a vigorous state historical society can exert is illustrated by the existence in Wisconsin of a number of active local historical societies affiliated with and reporting to the state society. Reports from six of these are published in the volume of *Proceedings* before us and indicate possible lines of work for such institutions. Thus, the Green Bay Historical Society held a meeting to commemorate the centennial of the writing of "The Star Spangled Banner." It has a committee investigating the origin of the names of streets in the city and is building up a collection of books, maps, and original documents relating to the locality. The La Fayette County society has a small library, a museum, and a manuscript collection. A most important line of work which local histori-

[1] This should read "the curator of the Historical Department." The State Historical Society of Iowa is an entirely distinct institution, devoted mainly to research, but with a good working library housed in one of the university buildings at Iowa City.

cal societies could take up is indicated by a statement in the report of this institution that "a store room in the courthouse contains a mass of old documents and records that should be classified." The Sauk County society held three meetings during the year at which papers in local history were read, besides a winter picnic and an annual outing or historical excursion. The society also erected a bronze tablet on the site of the first church in Baraboo. The Walworth County society has been gathering the personal recollections of pioneers and searching the back files of local newspapers for "data relating to early settlers, their family connections, their business enterprises, and their usefulness." The Waukesha County society has been instrumental in securing the erection of a monument to the three Cushing brothers, Civil War heroes, and is now working for a Cushing Memorial Park.

The Wisconsin Historical Society holds regularly but one meeting a year—in October. At this meeting it is customary to have an address by some distinguished historical scholar, usually from outside the state, after which a number of historical papers are read by title only. These, together with the address, are then published in the annual volume of *Proceedings*. In 1914 the address was by Worthington C. Ford, editor in the Massachusetts Historical Society, on the subject "The Treaty of Ghent—and After." Mr. Ford has been engaged for some time in editing the papers of John Quincy Adams and, using this material, he brings out many interesting points and throws some new light on the negotiations which brought the War of 1812 to a close.

Among the papers, one by Dr. Eben D. Pierce is of almost as much interest for Minnesota as for Wisconsin history. It is entitled "James Allen Reed: First Permanent Settler in Trempealeau County and Founder of Trempealeau." Reed was a Kentuckian who came to the upper-Mississippi region about 1815. For a time he was a soldier in the regular army and was stationed at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien). Then he became an employee of the American Fur Company and later

a tavern keeper. From 1842 to 1848 he served as government farmer for Wapasha's band of Sioux Indians on the site of Winona, Minnesota. His second wife was a relative of Wapasha, and he acquired considerable prestige with the tribe. Many of the incidents recounted in the paper are based on recollections which may or may not be reliable, but the paper furnishes an outline at least of an interesting career and a valuable picture of frontier conditions.

Another paper, of considerable length, on "The Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin," by J. H. A. Lacher, presents a mass of detailed information upon important phases of economic and social history. While the treatment is confined to Wisconsin, it is certain that somewhat similar conditions prevailed in Minnesota during the corresponding periods. Numerous excellent illustrations and extracts from original documents enhance the value of the paper. It is a fine thing that a man should be willing to devote himself to collecting and working up the mass of materials on which this paper is based, and every encouragement should be offered to induce others who are competent to undertake similar tasks.

Frederick Merk has a paper in the volume on "The Labor Movement in Wisconsin during the Civil War," which is a careful study based on documentary material. This is followed by "A Semi-historical Account of the War of the Winnebago and the Foxes," a legend in the Winnebago language as told by Joseph Blowsnake in 1908, with translation and notes by Paul Radin. The volume closes with a very important document for the history of the Northwest during the post-Revolutionary period: Henry Hay's "Journal from Detroit to the Miami River." This is edited with introduction and notes by Dr. Quaife under the title "A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier." This journal, the original of which is in the Detroit Public Library, has been known to scholars for some time, but its publication is a distinct service.

In contemplating the extensive and successful work of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the institutions in the other west-

ern states, many of which have had to contend with poverty and lack of interest, should not be discouraged. What has been done in Wisconsin can be done elsewhere, perhaps in a somewhat different way. While the Wisconsin society serves in a measure the historical interests of the whole West, it can not and does not desire to preëmpt the field. Each society has the history of its own state as a special field, but each should also specialize in certain phases of national or western history, for the history of all the individual states does not make up a history of the nation or of the West. The field is large, and there is work in plenty for all the individuals and institutions which can be enlisted. With cordial coöperation and consistent effort on the part of all, the foundations will finally be laid upon which will rest the future interpretation of the history of the great Mississippi Valley.

SOLON J. BUCK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

DOCUMENTS

Selections from the Murray Papers

The papers of William Pitt Murray in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society were received from his daughter, Mrs. Winifred Murray Milne, last November. They number about two hundred letters, commissions, and documents of various sorts, dating from 1842 to 1911. With these papers were received a number of pamphlets, some of considerable value, about twenty maps, and a few newspaper clippings. Most of the letters are addressed to Murray, although there are a few written by him and a few of which he was neither the writer nor the addressee. To those who are familiar with the career of Murray the value of the collection for the history of Minnesota will be obvious. Born in Ohio in 1825, he graduated in law at Indiana University in 1849 and came to the incipient territory of Minnesota the same year. He immediately took an active part in politics, serving in both houses of the territorial legislature, in the constitutional convention of 1857, and as a representative and senator in the state legislature. He also played a prominent part in the government of St. Paul, being a member of the city council most of the time from 1861 to 1879 and city attorney from 1876 to 1889.[1] Besides these and other political activities the papers reflect Murray's interests in transportation problems, fraternal orders, religion, education, and charity. Thus they are of value for nearly all phases of the history of Minnesota, and some of them throw light on social, economic, and political conditions in other states and even in foreign countries.

The documents here printed are selected primarily for the purpose of illustrating the character of the material in the collection. At some future time it is hoped that a calendar of

[1] Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 535 (*M. H. C.*, 14).

the whole collection may be published. The first letter deals with a subject that has been and still is of perennial interest—the utilization of the Fort Snelling Reservation. Those who are now advocating the establishment of a western military academy on the reservation will find the letter a storehouse of arguments, many of which are as applicable to-day as they were in 1849. Following this is a letter relating to an early project for solving the problem of transportation between St. Paul and St. Anthony. Judge Nelson's letter shows that "deserving Democrats" had to be taken care of in Washington even in 1853. The letter from Kansas, which follows, forecasts the coming storm in that territory and indicates that there was considerable emigration from Minnesota to Kansas. W. W. McNair's letter is of interest for the information which it contains about the Liberal Republican movement in Minnesota, while the last letter throws light on commercial relations between the United States and Hungary and on political conditions in the latter country.

C. K. Smith to Thomas Corwin, September 1, 1849[1]

[Murray Papers—Printed Letter]

A MILITARY ACADEMY IN THE NORTH-WEST.

To the Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio:

Sir:—Nature and education have given you an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech. Your talents, eloquence, and honesty have placed you prominently before the American people as one of her most gifted and able statesmen. You occupy an elevated position in the affections of your countrymen, and in the councils of the nation. Your bold, truthful, and independent course in the Senate of the United States, is admired and approbated by many, very many of your fellow-

[1] Charles Kilgore Smith had been in the territory less than two months on the date under which this letter was printed. Born in Cincinnati in 1799, he was admitted to the bar in 1840 and was serving as a judge when President Taylor appointed him secretary of Minnesota Territory. On his arrival at St. Paul early in July, 1849, he appears to have taken a leading part in all sorts of move-

citizens. Your position would seem to give authority to address you on any subject, which may be considered in anywise interesting to the public.

I therefore, without any further apology, proceed to remark, that peace is at all times desirable, war always to be deprecated; yet it seems a law inherent in human nature, that we cannot always have the one or avoid the other. In all the preceding ages, nations have occasionally been involved in sanguinary strife. The future promises no well-grounded hope of an exemption from this dire calamity. The Gospel, and all well-meant and philanthropic efforts of peace associations, will fail to avert it. No human means seem adequate to secure the blessings of perpetual peace. It is true, that wars are not so frequent now as in the earlier ages. A reference to the chronicles of mankind would lead one to believe that the business of the human race, in its earlier ages, was mainly to kill and be killed. In the first wars, the only arms used were perhaps those given by nature; in the progress of ages,

ments. He is credited with having been the founder and organizer of the first Masonic lodge in the territory, a charter member of the first lodge of Odd Fellows in St. Paul, the prime mover in the establishment of the Minnesota Historical Society and its first secretary, a leader in the foundation of two of St. Paul's churches, the originator of the public school system of the state, and a member of the first board of regents of the university. All of this was accomplished in less than two years, for Smith made many enemies and, presumably because of the bitter antagonism towards him, he returned to Ohio in 1851, where he died in 1866. *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 495; 12: 108; 14: 714.

Thomas Corwin, one of Ohio's most brilliant and distinguished statesmen, was a Whig leader in the United States Senate at this time. Murray is authority for the statement that Smith was a relative of Corwin's and owed his appointment as secretary of the territory to his influence. W. P. Murray, "Recollections of Territorial Days and Legislation" in *ibid.*, 12: 108.

Smith included this letter in full in his "First Annual Report" as secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, printed in the *Annals* of the society "for the Year A. D., 1850–1" (St. Paul, 1851). This report was omitted, however, from the reprint of the *Annals* issued in 1872 as the first volume of the *Collections* and again reprinted in 1902. The document is there introduced as follows: "Public attention has also been called to the propriety of establishing the Western Armory at St. Paul, and a Military Academy at Fort Snelling. The reasons for the latter institution at that point, are fully set forth in the following letter."

other arms were invented, and new means of injury and destruction used. As the implements of war increased, in the same ratio wars decreased; and were it possible to have the art of war so improved, that death would be the certain portion of all who engaged in battle, it would, in our opinion, put a period to wars. While fists and clubs were the only arms employed, men rushed into hostilities with much less hesitation than they now do.

Hence we conclude, that the more destructive wars become, the less likely will they be engaged in. This being true, a thorough military education, given to any people, is likely to prove a very effectual means of preserving peace. When a nation is known to be thus prepared, the belligerent powers are more likely to respect her rights, and to use every means of avoiding a conflict. It is, however, wholly impossible, that all should be thoroughly educated in military science. Nor is it necessary; it is quite sufficient that a number large enough to guide and direct all military operations, should have received such a training. Accordingly, in the earliest history of our Republic, it became our policy to establish a military academy. We had passed through the war of our independence, and in that war, the want of men who had received a military education was apparent; and the advantages of it were strongly evidenced by the efficient aid rendered us by foreigners who came among us. It is not easy to estimate the benefits which resulted from the military skill of Steuben, and the discipline which he established at Valley Forge, during the time our army was in winter quarters at that place. General Washington felt the advantages of military science so strongly, that in his eighth annual message, he recommended the establishment of a military academy in these words:

"In proportion as the observance of pacific measures might exempt a nation from practising the rules of the military art, ought to be its care in preserving and transmitting by proper establishments, the knowledge of that art. Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince, that the art of war is at once comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study, and that the possession of it in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government; and for this purpose an academy where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient which different nations have successfully employed."

Five years after this recommendation, Congress, by law, established a military academy at West Point, where it still remains. This was by the "Act fixing the military peace establishment of the United States," approved March 16, 1802. However, "An act to authorize the purchase of a tract of land for the use of the United States," approved July 5th, 1790, was the first law on the subject of West Point. But the academy did not do much for a number of years. It lingered along until the war of 1812, which taught its advantages anew. Soon after that war, new energy was given to it; and it went into active and efficient operation. Many acts of Congress have, from time to time, been passed, regulating this institution. Formidable opposition has arisen at various periods. It has, however, at length won its way to general favor as an institution of great benefit. If there were any lingering doubts remaining, the late war with Mexico must have dissipated them. The incalculable services rendered by those who had been educated at West Point, in that struggle, must satisfy every one of its vast utility. Whatever may be the opinions of the bravery of our soldiery who were engaged in Mexico, it cannot be denied, that our long list of brilliant military achievements is mainly owing to the science taught at West Point. It is no part of the object of the writer to labor an eulogy upon our military academy. The names of Ringgold, Swift, M'Kee, and Clay, who fell in the Mexican war, together with a host of others who escaped their fate, attest the advantages of the institution; and as long as the brilliant victories obtained by our arms in Mexico, from Palo Alto to the city of Mexico, live on the pages of history, that long will the vast utility of the military science taught at West Point be remembered.

But it is not alone in the military art that "West Pointers" have distinguished themselves. In every department of life—in the tented field—at the bar—in our seminaries—in authorship—aye, even in the pulpit, West Point can boast its stars. No institution in our country gives a more practical and useful education than West Point.

Taking it for granted, that all will admit its utility, and that its benefits and favors should be well and equally diffused throughout our country, we would inquire, Does the institution at West Point answer our purposes in its present condition? Is that place sufficient to educate all whom it is desirable should be thoroughly instructed in those solid branches which are essential to a good military education? Does it satisfy the wants and

avoid the prejudices, which grow with the growth and strengthen with the strength of the country? By an act of Congress, approved July 7th, 1838, the number of Cadets is limited to two hundred and fifty. The rule of admission is, that one Cadet shall be admitted from each Congressional district. Since this rule was established, the ratio of representation has been increased from 47,700 to 73,000. Thus the number of Cadets does not increase in proportion as our population increases. The population of the United States then was about 13,000,000. It is now supposed to be over 20,000,000. Our borders are continually and rapidly extending; and if the spirit of war remains as rife as in former times, the danger of being involved in hostilities will greatly increase; and we will consequently require a greater number of men educated in military science.

If this reasoning be correct, our circumstances demand an increase in the number of Cadets; and if the number be enlarged, the establishment at West Point is wholly inadequate for their accommodation. In fact, it is not sufficient, under its present organization, to satisfy the country, nor accommodate the present number authorized by law. Although the number which may be admitted is two hundred and fifty, yet, from some unaccountable reason, the ordinary number in the institution is about two hundred. For various reasons, many of them are dismissed; doubtless most of them for good cause, AND PERHAPS ALL. The number of graduates since its organization, we cannot state. We have no data at hand to enable us to determine with certainty; but it does not exceed twelve hundred, which is twenty-five graduates for each year since the organization of the institution. Quite a small number indeed, in comparison with our present immense population of 20,000,000. As before stated, we believe the number of Cadets should be increased so as to be commensurate to the increased population and wants of our growing and widely extended country. This will require a similar or auxiliary institution elsewhere. The new institution should be in the West, to meet the wants of the country. It is but just, that the convenience and interest of the great West should be accommodated in this matter. Millions of money from the public Treasury are disbursed in the East, while to the West it is dealt out with a parsimonious hand. It is justice to the West to have some public favor in this way. She has long complained of injustice in this matter; and the time is fast approaching, when

she can enforce, by her numerical representation, this equitable demand.

But it is not in this view that we urge the erection of a military academy in the West. It is mainly in regard to the necessity and convenience of the matter that it is urged. If it be a good thing, its benefits should be equally diffused. In looking for a particular location for this auxiliary institution, there are three important considerations which should influence its locality. The health of Cadets being a matter of paramount importance, that should be the first consideration. The second should be the convenience of access to the place; and the third should be the economy of the matter in a pecuniary point of view. The place which combines these advantages in the greatest degree should be selected.

In casting about, we can name no place which seems to combine them in so great a degree as FORT SNELLING. Viewing all things, this strikes us as being the very place for such an establishment. It is more like West Point for scenery, health, and many other particulars, than any place on the American continent. Its buildings, arrangement, and whole conformation are very similar. It will so impress any person upon inspection. It is a military post, established in 1819. The march of our population westward, now renders it of little use for military defence. At all events, it could be sufficiently manned by Cadets for all practicable purposes; and the expense of keeping it up would not be more than the present expenditure, so that the Government would not have to lay out one additional cent by converting it into an academy.

It will be seen, however, by the act making appropriations for the support of the military academy for the year ending the 30th of June, 1850, that the sum of $171,394 61 was appropriated, which is taken as the average sum appropriated yearly since the organization, to keep up and sustain the institution. It has been in existence forty-seven years, which multiplied by the appropriation of $171,394 61 will produce the sum of eight millions fifty-five thousand five hundred and eighteen dollars; which, divided by twelve hundred, will leave an expenditure for each student of six thousand seven hundred and thirteen dollars. WE STATE THE FACTS WITHOUT NOTE OR COMMENT.

FORT SNELLING is in a place which is, beyond all question, one of the most healthy in the United States; in fact it is proverbially healthy. It is useless to extend our remarks on this point, for it can have no rival as to health.

Next of its convenience. It is situated on the Mississippi river, at the confluence of that and the Minnesota or St. Peters river—easily arrived at by means of steamboats at all times, except when blocked up by ice. By reference to the map, it will be seen that Cadets from Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, will find it of easy access—much more so than West Point. These and the States that will spring up in the North-West, will, before many years, have one half of the population of the United States. Thus it is seen that Fort Snelling commends itself to favor from considerations of convenience.

We come lastly to notice it with reference to public economy. The fort is large and capacious—well built with stone—and has ample room, admirably adapted for the accommodation of three hundred Cadets. It has all the necessary buildings, out buildings, &c., and appears as if built purposely for an academy; so that no expense need be incurred for buildings. Connected with it is a military reservation of twelve miles square; that part of the reservation immediately surrounding the fort is well suited for parade ground. It is understood that the Government has authorized the preliminaries to a treaty with the Sioux Indians, which, it is presumed, will be consummated ere long. Thus we shall acquire a tract of country extending from the fort, west, between the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers; so that any number of acres may be appropriated and set apart for the use of the academy. Perhaps no other suitable place in the country could be selected, which would have this and so many other arguments in its favor, but Fort Snelling. These facts show, that on the score of economy it is a very desirable location for a military academy; and thus we find it combines all the advantages which should commend a place as a site for such an institution.

The scenery around this point is by no means inferior to that at West Point. The place is, as before stated, at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers—the former, a beautiful stream, which winds its way from the south-west until it unites with the Mississippi, which comes from the north-west. On the point upon an elevated piece of ground, stands Fort Snelling—a place strong by nature, and rendered almost impregnable by the military works. It looks as though the dogs of war might bark at it until they split their brazen throats, and it would laugh in scorn at the power of battle. Far away to the north-west stretches a beautiful plain, smooth as a meadow. Turn your eyes

around, and for beauty and sublimity of scenery—from the bold precipice to the smooth, beautiful lawn—clumps of treees—oak openings, which look like an old orchard—in short, all that can please and charm the eye is here presented. South of the Fort, in full view, is Mendota, the station of the American Fur Company. Back of this the country rises in beautiful grandeur, and spreads to the eye a delightful landscape. Whatever advantages which pleasing scenery, bold or beautiful, may have upon the mind, is here to be realized. Taking it all in all, it seems that Congress should look to this matter, and proceed to organize at this place, at an early day, a military academy, on principles similar to West Point. In every point of view, the establishment of an auxiliary institution seems the best policy, and Fort Snelling the place.

S.

St. Paul, Minnesota Territory, September 1st, 1849.

(Chron. & Reg. Print, St. Paul.)

[*Endorsed:*] C. K. Smith Letter Mil. Academy.

S. B. Elliot to Murray, November 15, 1852

[Murray Papers—A. L. S.]

Cincinnati Nov 15 1852

W P Murray Esq

Dr Sir

I have received two letters from you of late which ought to have been answered before but a multiplicity of engagements has prevented.

Enclosed please find the form for a charter which I hope you will succeed in getting through. I doubt not it can be made *useful.* I keep pretty well posted on Minnesota Improvements and I cannot think of any project that will take so well as a Plank or Rail Road from St. Paul to St. Anthony with the priviledge of extending it to Sauk Rappids or Crow Wing. Or if a Rail Road is prefered perhaps it would be better to get a priviledge to extend from St. Anthony to some point towards Fon du Lac. Perhaps a charter for a Rail or Plank Road from St Paul to Stillwater would be worth something if you can get them both t[h]rough.

Please let me hear from you often and I shall have plenty of time in a few days to answer all your letters pro[m]ptly.

160 acre Land Warrants are now worth $150.00.

Yours truly

S B Elliot

R. R. Nelson[1] to Murray, March 3, 1853

[Murray Papers—A. L. S.]

Washington March 3/53

Friend Murray

Your favor enclosing papers &c was handed me a few days ago by Mr Sibley.[2] I will present them personally to the President as soon as the inauguration is over. I know of no applicant but yourself for that office and your chances are good.

The Democratic party must succeed in preventing those individuals who opposed us last fall from being rewarded for their treachery, and I am pretty sure that Mr Pierce will do the fair thing.

Minnesota is well represented here Olmstead,[3] Col R, Lowry,[4] Hollinshead,[5] Steele[6] &c are all on hand.

[1] Rensselaer Russell Nelson was born in New York in 1826, was admitted to the bar in 1849, and came to St. Paul the following year. In 1857 President Buchanan appointed him a territorial judge, and on the admission of Minnesota to the Union he was made a United States district judge. He resigned in 1896 and died in St. Paul in 1904. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 543 (*M. H. C.*, 14).

[2] Henry H. Sibley was the delegate from Minnesota Territory in Congress at this time. *Ibid.*, 702.

[3] Probably David Olmsted, who located a trading post at Long Prairie in 1848, moved to St. Paul in 1853, and became editor of the *Minnesota Democrat*. He was prominent in territorial politics, serving as president of the council in the first legislature, 1849, and as mayor of St. Paul in 1854. In 1855 he was a candidate for the position of delegate but was not elected. The reference may be to S. Baldwin Olmstead of Belle Prairie, who was president of the council in 1854 and 1855. The spelling of the name in the document would indicate the latter, but the former was the more prominent in politics. *Ibid.*, 565.

[4] Probably Sylvanus B. Lowry, who had been associated with Rice and Sibley in the Indian trade. He was a member of the Democratic party and served in the council in 1852 and 1853. Governor Gorman appointed him adjutant general in 1853, but he was removed from office soon afterwards as a result of political quarrels. W. H. C. Folsom, *Fifty Years in the Northwest*, 439 (St. Paul, 1888); William B. Mitchell, *History of Stearns County*, 2: 1080 (Chicago, 1915).

[5] William Hollinshead came to St. Paul in 1850 and formed a partnership for the practice of law with Edmund Rice and George L. Becker. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 338 (*M. H. C.*, 14).

[6] Doubtless Franklin Steele, who played a prominent part in the early history of Minneapolis. *Ibid.*, 738.

There is no doubt but what true & firm Democrats will receive the appointments most of them I hope in the Territory, but that is perhaps doubtful. The ultimate success of the party is the great object, and we must attain that if possible.

Remember me to Williams[1] & all others

Yours truly
R. R. Nelson

Aaron Foster[2] to A. L. Williams,[1] February 26, 1855

[Murray Papers—A. L. S.]

Leavenworth City Kansas Feb 26th 1855

Friend Williams

I promised you before leaving St Paul, that I would write to you and give you a description of the country. we are all in good health, and hope this may find you, and yours the same. we arived here on the 9th of November, one month from the time we left St Paul. we were all unwell at the time, but have enjoyed excellent health since. I am inclined to think this is a very healthy section of country. I am much pleased with the climate, the coldest day this winter, the thermometer was only five degrees below zero. the River has not closed this winter at this point. the last Boat left here on the 9th of December, but a Boat might have come up any time during the winter, we are looking for one up every day, they Telegraphed from St Louis to Weston, that a Boat would leave on the 20th this month, you will understand from that, that we are not out of the way of the lightning, as it strikes within five or six miles of us. this Town, or City as it is called, is situated two and half miles below Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri River, and is a most delightful situation, there are about fifty buildings including all kinds and sizes, and the

[1] Doubtless Amzy L. Williams, who was a law partner of Murray's in 1853, as evidenced by a letter from Williams to G. W. Featherstonhaugh, February 17, 1853, in the Murray Papers. The existence of such a partnership is confirmed by Murray's daughter, Mrs. Winifred Murray Milne. According to C. E. Flandreau, Williams came to St. Paul in 1851. "Bench and Bar of Ramsey County" in *Magazine of Western History*, 8: 63.

[2] Aaron Foster, born in Pennsylvania in 1817, settled in Stillwater in 1846 and moved to St. Paul the following year. He was a carpenter by trade and served as a justice of the peace for a number of years. He enlisted in the army in 1864, but died before entering the service. J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 168 (*M. H. C.*, 4); T. M. Newson, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul*, 70 (St. Paul, 1886).

inhabitants number 2123 and consist of the following clases, one hundred men, twenty three women, one hundred children, one thousand dogs, and nineteen hundred woolves, and we look for a large adition to our present population when spring opens, of a few thousand rattle snakes. fifty of the male population, are Lawyers and the rest you might swear was Carpenters. the great difficulty with this place, is that there cannot be a good title given, as this Town is situated on the Deleware Reserve, and the Lotts are Surveyed off only 25 feet front by 110 deep, I do not think this will be the seat of government, it is a strong Pro Slavery hole, and a great portion of the Lotts are owned by Missourians, and our Governor is free Soiler all over. they elected a strong pro slavery man to represent us in Congress, yet I do not think this will be a slave state, although the Missourians help us very generously at the Elections. I think we will come the Paddy over them this spring Election. we have Organized a sosiety eaquel to the H. Ns. I suppose you understand that. I am affraid some of our St Paul Boys are strongly tinctured with the Pro. speaking of the St Paul Boys there are in this place Sellors,[1] Dr Day,[2] James Kirkpatrick[3] Mr Russell and myself. A J Whitney[4] is here at times St Paul is well represented here. Kirkpatrick is very feeble, he will not be able to stand it long. I do not like liveing in this Country as well as I do in Minnesota, yet I like the climate much better I have my health much better here. I have not had a cold since I came to the Territory and have stoped Coughing entirely. we all live in Buildings without plastering, and no person sick in the Country, there are five Companys of Soldiers at this Fort, and none of them sick. there is no timber in this Country, and Lumber is very dear, matched

[1] Benjamin L. Sellors was in St. Paul as early as 1849 and served as sergeant-at-arms of the second territorial council, 1851. *Minnesota Pioneer*, January 9, 1851; Williams, *St. Paul*, 215, 266 (*M. H. C.*, 4); Minnesota Historical Society, *Annals*, 1850–51, p. 64 (St. Paul, 1851).

[2] Probably Dr. David Day, who practiced medicine in St. Paul from 1849 to 1854. If so, he must have soon returned from Kansas, as he was a partner with J. R. Jenks in the drug business in St. Paul in 1856. Newson, *Pen Pictures*, 109; *St. Paul City Directory*, 1856–57, p. 85; Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 167 (*M. H. C.*, 14).

[3] James Kirkpatrick was a resident of St. Paul in 1850. Williams, *St. Paul*, 268 (*M. H. C.*, 4).

[4] Andrew J. Whitney came to St. Paul in 1853 and was appointed clerk of the supreme court the same year. He was city clerk of St Paul in 1858. *Ibid.*, 340, 410, 462; Newson, *Pen Pictures*, 394.

pine flooring $65.00 per thousand feet, Green Cotton Wood boards 30.00 per thousand, Lathes are 8.00 per thousand. Dry goods, Grocerries, and provisions are cheaper here than St Paul. they have been ploughing on the Government Farm all winter except January, we have had no rain but once since last June, we have had three snow storms but it only stops a few days with us, but it blows the hair off of a mans head—a perfect hurricane. I wish you would do me a small favour if you can that is call on Mr Morrison[1] and tell him we are all well and that I will write to him after I get leisure, and he owes me some six or seven dollars ask him how much it is and get it, and pay Mr. Terry[2] the amount of my postage since I left, and pay yourself for trouble, and if any left send it to me, when you write. Send me a paper at times, and I will do the same excuse this letter, or me as I have four more to write this evening. I am affraid you will not be able to get much information out of my scriblings, but you are a Lawyer and ought not only to be able to read bad writing, but make out what a man realy ment, if he only had sence enough to express himself. Give my respects to all the folks in St Paul and accept the same yourself

Respectfully Yours

AARON FOSTER

N B write soon and direct your letters to Fort Leavenworth Kansas we have no post office here yet

W. W. McNAIR[3] TO MURRAY, July 31, 1872

[Murray Papers—A. L. S.]

MINNEAPOLIS July 31st 1872

HON W. P. MURRAY

DR SIR

I have gone to St Paul twice since the day our committee met to see you but failed to find you either time

Upon consultation with Democrats since the action of the State Comte & the liberal Comte in determining to have sep-

[1] Probably Wilson C. Morrison, who settled in St. Paul in 1848 and died there in 1892. Newson, *Pen Pictures*, 87; Williams, *St. Paul*, 198, 200, 269; *St. Paul City Directory*, 1893, p. 998.

[2] John Carlos Terry was assistant postmaster in St. Paul from 1853 to 1871. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 773 (*M. H. C.*, 14).

[3] William Woodbridge McNair, born in New York in 1836, settled in St. Anthony in 1857 and was admitted to the bar the same year.

arate Conventions I find them almost unanimously of opinion that it would have been better to have had but one Convention, but that since the calls have been issued & the resolution recomending that in all other conventions & primary meetings the Democrats & liberal Republicans co-operate it would be better to do so, I therefore assent to this plan should you think best to adopt it.

Permit me also to suggest that in the call we adopt some distinct party name as for instance "Democratic Republican Convention for the 3d Congressional District of Minnesota" or some other equally good name, and then invite all who are willing to join in endeavoring to secure the election of Greely & Brown & the local tickets placed in nomination by the "Democratic Republican party" in the several counties in this District of the State, & who favor the adoption by the people of the Principles enunciated in the Platforms adopted at Cincinnatti & Baltr to join with us.

As to the representation it will, in case a convention of Democrats & Liberals is called have to be based upon the entire vote & I would suggest that we take the vote for Governor last cast and allow to every Three hundred voters or a majority fraction thereof one delegate except in the counties in which the entire vote does not exceed Three Hundred when we would allow one delegate as heretofore. I have made a compilation of the vote cast at the last gubernatorial election, in the several co[u]nties now comprising the 3d Dist & enclose it as it will save you some time & trouble, should you think best to base the representation upon the entire vote of the district. The first column of figures is the No of votes cast for Mr Austin in the respective Counties,—the second the number cast for Mr Young—the third the aggregate for each county—the fourth the No of Delegates allowed by the call for the last State Convention upon the basis of One Delegate to every one Hundred and fifty votes,—the fifth the No of delegates allowed to each County upon a basis of one to every Three

He served as county attorney of Hennepin County from 1859 to 1863 and as mayor of St. Anthony from 1869 to 1872. He was a candidate for Congress in 1876, running on the Democratic ticket, and in 1883 was offered the nomination for governor. His death occurred in 1885. In 1872 McNair and Murray were selected as members of the Democratic campaign committee for the third congressional district. Isaac Atwater, *History of Minneapolis*, 1:453 (New York, 1893); *St. Paul Pioneer*, June 20, 1872.

Hundred voters in the county which I think would be about right, except in the case of Stearns County where the Democratic vote has been much larger than the Republican so that in changing the basis of representation from 150 Democratic to 300 of both parties the representation for Stearns is reduced from 11 to 8. how would it do in fixing the apportionment to give them the usual number eleven (11) & say nothing about it. I would also suggest that I think a good time for the convention would be the day before the state convention at 2 P. M. if a hall can be determined & St. Paul the place.[1] On Monday when in St Paul I saw Mr Staples[2] & I conclude from what he said the foregoing suggestions would meet his views if satisfactory to the other members of the Committee. It is no doubt time the call was issued

Respectfully yours
W. W. McNair

Joseph Fuchs to Murray, July 2, 1875[3]

[Murray Papers—A. L. S.]

Tabakgasse Nr 1 Comptoir bei Rudolf Herzog
Pest, Ungarn July 2 /75

Wm. P. Murray Esqu. St. Paul
Dear Sir

I make free to inform you that through various reasons the negotiations with the I Hung. Transp. Co were not concluded; a brother in law of mine who was instrumental in founding it, thought to see good reasons why he should withdraw his funds first, and laterly even his countenance from the institution. On my arrival (the 31st May) they showed willingness to have me

[1] The *St. Paul Pioneer* of August 4, 1872, contains the call, signed by the members of both the Liberal Republican and Democratic committees. Stearns County was allowed eleven delegates, as suggested by McNair.

[2] Isaac Staples, a prominent lumberman of Stillwater, was another member of the Democratic committee for the third congressional district. A branch of his business was located in St. Paul. *St. Paul Pioneer*, June 20, August 4, 1872; Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 734 (*M. H. C.*, 14).

[3] The printed heading to the sheet on which this letter is written is of some interest. It begins "Joseph Fuchs, Commission-Merchant," and is continued by the following at the left of the sheet with a German version at the right: "offers his services for the purchase and sale of raw products as well as other merchandise on Commis-

unite with them, even though they had fallen out with my friends; since a large share of needed funds were withdrawn they confine their business only to forwarding, leaving Commission etc., alone. Under such circumstances it required no deep insight to perceive that the I Hung. Transp. C^{o}[1] were not the parties best suited to further my views, & do justice to the manufacturers I am to represent.

I discontinued therefore the negotiations, that were hardly commenced, and after some search in another direction, it is now my pleasant duty to inform you that I have been able to induce Mr. Rudolf Herzog to lend his influence and become an associate in the agr. implement business to which I shall wholly devote myself. (Unless indeed the government of the U. S. should see fit to appoint me its representative, in place of Mr Kauser who has resigned through stress of business). Mr. R. Herzog is an old businessman and landowner, besides being the founder of the first factory in Hungary for the manufacture of bone meal & of animal coal; his factory has lately become the property of a stock C^{o} but he has a large interest there yet & remains the leading & counseling director of the enterprise. Mr Herzog is one of our well known businessmen and any of our banks will on proper application give his financial standing.—The business will for the present be conducted from the office of Rud. Herzog Tabakgasse N^{r} 1 under the firm & name of Joseph Fuchs which I alone will sign as below.

The letter of introduction which you were so kind as to give me, to the american minister Mr. Orth I have not yet delivered; I was in vienna, but could not take the time to call on him.

I hope that Mrs Murray & the children are well; now that I am so far away, I would give something to sit on your front stoop in the shade & read the St. Paul Press or the Pioneer for that matter.

The Hungarians elected their legislators yesterday. Those who pay taxes to the amount of abt 5^{00} pr year & that promptly paid, have the franchise; the right to choose their representatives was granted only a few years ago, & our people consider it a great

sion. Represents home and foreign producers and American & European manufacturers of agricultural machinery and implements. The highest references at Home and Abroad. Sole representative of the celebrated Japanese Paper Ware which will not leak, break, shrink, or fall to pieces."

[1] Imperial Hungarian Transportation Company.

boon, show also that they apreciate it by displaying of national (red, white & green) banners with the name of the favorite candidate; The Sundays are used for processions in honor to the candidate, he holds his programme speeches, & is conducted to his house by his adherents who deafen each other with cries of: Éljen. (cheer.) The franchise is considered by too many as yet as a plaything a toy and without considerable noise they consider it has no value. with the greatest respect I am yours obedient servant

Joseph Fuchs

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Federal Land Grants to the States with Special Reference to Minnesota (The University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences,* no. 2). By MATTHIAS NORDBERG ORFIELD, LL.B., PH.D., sometime instructor in political science in the University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1915. 275 p.)

The material for a comprehensive study of the American public domain is so vast and scattered that any contribution, however restricted and detailed, will be welcomed by scholars as a step toward a more thorough understanding of this important influence in American life. It is strange, considering its importance, that the public domain has received so little attention from students. Fortunately, however, there are indications that investigators in history, political science, and economics are entering this fruitful field in increasing numbers.

Mr. Orfield's study deals with an important phase of the subject—the history of land grants to states for all purposes, including, among others, support of elementary and secondary education, support of the ministry, development of industries, military defense, internal improvements, and public buildings. The author purposes to show how there came to be a federal land grant policy, how that policy developed into its present form, and how the states have administered their heritage. The work, then, naturally divides into three parts. The first part deals briefly with the colonial precedents. In the second part the general subject of land grants to the states and territories is discussed. In the last division Minnesota is chosen as a typical state for a more detailed study of the administration of the public lands. Under each general division the different kinds of land grants are treated separately. While such a topical division may be convenient, it is unfortunate that the material is not woven into a closer texture. With so complicated a subject such a task is exceedingly difficult, but nevertheless possible, of attainment.

Most of the material on which the study is based has been

found in the libraries of the University of Minnesota and the Minnesota Historical Society, in the Minnesota State Library, and in the office of the state auditor. It consists almost entirely of public documents, comprising colonial records, the *Congressional Debates* and *Globe, Senate* and *House Documents,* journals of legislatures, reports of committees, governors' messages, state and federal statutes, decisions of the courts, and the like. What Mr. Orfield has written, therefore, is a legislative and constitutional history of land grants to the states. It is to be regretted, however, that he did not explore the extensive newspaper material and make more use of the correspondence of public men. A better background for the laws and the debates in Congress and in the legislatures would thus have been secured. It is impossible to understand what happened in Congress during the important years 1852 and 1854, for example, unless we have in mind the conflicting interests of those who favored land grants to railways, canals, and institutions, military bounties, homestead legislation, graduation of the prices of public lands, distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public lands, and the relinquishment of the lands to the states in which they were situated. What, for instance, was the attitude of those who favored land grants to soldiers and railways towards the homestead proposition? The disturbing element of slavery, especially the Kansas-Nebraska bill, also profoundly affected the public land question. Votes in Congress are often misleading because of log-rolling, and land bills offered splendid opportunities for this practice. A study of the newspapers and the correspondence of public men would enable the student to get behind the scenes and check up the votes of representatives and senators. To quote Professor Frederick J. Turner: "We cannot understand the land question without seeing its relations to the struggle of sections and classes bidding against each other and finding in the public domain a most important topic of political bargaining."

Notwithstanding this defect, every chapter reveals the painstaking work of the author. At the cost of great effort he has searched out new information amply fortified by footnote references, and has compiled valuable tables. He has not only studied the grants for all the various purposes, but he has also pursued

his investigation into the states and has thrown much light on the constitutional and legal aspects of the question.

The West has always been dissatisfied with the land policy of the federal government, believing this policy to be dictated by men who had little interest in that section of the country or else were unable to understand its needs. The cause of public education in the United States has suffered because of the unsatisfactory adjustment of federal and state authority in the matter of lands reserved for schools. "Up to 1845," according to Mr. Orfield, "the school lands were generally granted 'to the state for the use of the inhabitants' of each 'township for the use of schools.' But in the case of Indiana and Alabama the grant was directly to the 'inhabitants' of the various townships. The results were equally disastrous, for in either case it meant local control over the proceeds of the lands. . . . The legislatures of the new states have not always been discreet and far-sighted in the management of the school lands. The spectacle of state after state throwing away the heritage of its common schools by century-long leases, premature sales at inadequate prices, or investment of the proceeds in doubtful securities served more and more to impress upon Congress the importance of taking some action to safeguard the inheritance of the schools" (pp. 48, 49). It is apparent to Mr. Orfield that progress has been made in the direction of greater national control over school lands, although Congress has done little or nothing to assert its authority when states have diverted the proceeds of their lands from the purpose specified.

In the section devoted to the discussion of the administration of public lands in Minnesota the reader will find much to praise and much to censure in the conduct of the state government and its officials. Minnesota came into the Union at a time when her citizens could profit by the unfortunate experiences of her sister states. The state constitution, fortunately, imposed a healthy check upon the sale of the school lands and the first governor, Alexander Ramsey, was impressed with the importance of a careful stewardship of lands belonging to the state. Later in her history, however, the state suffered much loss through the incompetency and corruption of those in charge of the administration

of her lands. She possessed forests of fabulous value, but "it is only within the last decade and a half that the state and national governments have come to think seriously of practical forestry." For this reason most of the state timber has been sold. Mr. Orfield relates how this wonderful resource has fallen into the hands of individuals, many of whom obtained titles to large tracts by unfair or unscrupulous methods. The resultant losses to the state and the measures employed to remedy them are described in considerable detail. There are also chapters devoted to a discussion of the mineral lands, which have brought so much wealth to the state.

Mr. Orfield has produced, on the whole, a valuable treatise. Some errors, however, have crept into the text. In his account of the land legislation in Congress in the thirties and forties he makes the statement that at the time of Clay's famous report in 1832 "there were two questions before the committee, the reduction in the price of the public lands and the distribution of the lands to the new states" (pp. 98-100). The fact is that there were at least three distinct propositions: preëmption, graduation, and the distribution of the *proceeds of the sales* of the public lands among the states. Further, in discussing the distribution-preëmption law of 1841 (p. 100), he says merely that "the Senate signified its approval" of the House bill, whereas two important amendments were added, which became exceedingly important at the next session.

The bibliography appended leaves much to be desired. It is very full for the colonial period, which occupies relatively and properly little space in the text, but for the remainder of the book it is rather disappointing. This is particularly true of the secondary material. Why such titles as Treat's *National Land System,* Benton's *Thirty Years' View,* Calhoun's and Clay's *Works,* Ballagh's papers in the *Reports* of the American Historical Association for 1897 and 1899, George W. Julian's writings and speeches, to mention only a few, are omitted is not clear. The *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler* is not listed, although referred to in the footnotes.

G. M. Stephenson

Norsk lutherske prester i Amerika, 1843–1913. By O. M. Norlie, in collaboration with K. Seehuus, M. O. Wee, A. M. Arntzen, A. L. Wiek, and L. Lillehei. (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1914. 624 p.)

Den norsk lutherske kirkes historie i Amerika. By Rev. Johan A. Bergh. (Minneapolis, 1914. 528 p.)

Den forenede norsk lutherske kirke i Amerika. By Rev. O. M. Norlie, Ph.D., Pd.D. (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1914. 104 p.)

Fra ungdomsaar: An oversigt over den forenede norsk lutherske kirkes historie og fremskridt i de svundne femogtyve aar. Edited by N. C. Brun. (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1915. 371 p.)

As a part of a very considerable output of books in the Norwegian language by the Augsburg Publishing House of Minneapolis, there are four recent publications dealing with the history of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in the United States. These books constitute a positive contribution to the history of the Norwegian element in the United States, for the church has exercised a deep influence upon the life of the Scandinavians in this country, and its history is intimately related to the history of this immigrant force. The economic contributions of immigrants to the United States are not difficult to estimate. On the other hand, the social results of their settlement and amalgamation with American life are more undefinable. But fundamental to an understanding of the contribution of the Scandinavians to American character and institutions is a true interpretation of the spiritual forces at work among them.

The first of these volumes contains brief biographies of 1,826 Norwegian Lutheran pastors and theological professors who have been active in the United States during the seven decades from 1843 to 1913. As an introduction to the biographical section there is a carefully prepared history of Norwegian immigration from 1825 to 1913, and of the organization and progress of the work of the Lutheran Church among the Norwegian immigrants. A brief survey of the fourteen synods which have been organized during this period is included. A number of charts greatly increase the value of these sections. One of the most valuable

features of the book is the summary of the literary activity of the pastors and professors whose biographies are included. There is added a list of newspapers and periodicals published by Norwegian-Americans, with dates of publication and names of editors. A complete index of names concludes the book. The volume was prepared by trained scholars, and should prove as valuable as it is reliable and complete.

The second title may be translated "History of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America." The author, a graduate of Augsburg Seminary in Minneapolis, was ordained as a minister in 1871, and since 1890 has been a member of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church. He has thus been both a spectator and a participant of a considerable portion of the development which he describes. The inclusion of many original documents and citations of sources increases the value of a work which is not particularly critical. The theological strifes in the Norwegian Lutheran Church have been extremely bitter, and the accounts of these struggles consume no small portion of the work. The author writes from the standpoint of a pastor of the United Church. Recently there has been a strong movement for a union of three large Norwegian synods, and this movement is elaborately discussed. While the author makes no attempt to analyze the religious contribution of the Norwegian Lutherans to American life, he does recognize Americanization as inevitable and urges the church to keep abreast of the movement of transition by adopting the English language in its services wherever there is a need for it. The figures presented by Rev. Mr. Bergh of the progress of the church are significant. The work was begun in 1843 in Muskego, Wisconsin, with one congregation, 69 members, and two ministers. Seventy years later there were 1,354 ministers and professors, 3,398 congregations with about 500,000 members in six synods, with five theological seminaries, two normal schools, nine colleges, and twenty-seven academies.

The last two volumes relate to the largest synod among the Norwegian-Lutherans—the United Norwegian Lutheran Church. Rev. Dr. Norlie's book particularly is a scholarly account of the organization and activity of that synod. The last work, edited by Rev. N. C. Brun, was published in connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of that church body. It is a popular, illustrated

book, in thirty chapters, and reveals the virtues as well as the shortcomings of collaboration. From the American standpoint the chapter dealing with the work done by the church in the English language is of special interest. The figures there given indicate that the foreign language is steadily giving way to the English, and that the church, realizing this, is taking steps to meet the resultant problems.

T. C. BLEGEN

Voyages of the Norsemen to America (*Scandinavian Monographs,* 1). By WILLIAM HOVGAARD, late commander in the royal Danish navy and professor of naval design and construction in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (New York, The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1914. xxi, 304 p.)

The American-Scandinavian Foundation is to be congratulated on the attractive appearance and scholarly character of the first volume of its *Scandinavian Monographs.* Professor Hovgaard's interest in the subject began with a study of the "means and methods of navigation possessed by the Norsemen, and of the bearing of these features on the question of the discovery of America." From this the work gradually developed into an orderly presentation and critical discussion of all the available evidence, whether historical, geographical, ethnological, or botanical. The conclusions reached are that the early explorations of the Norsemen probably reached the coast of Massachusetts, but that the later expedition for purposes of settlement did not get south of Newfoundland and failed of its purpose because of attacks by the Indians and internal strife.

A passage of especial interest to the people of Minnesota occurs on page 116 under the heading "Ruins and Inscriptions found in America." It reads as follows: "The so-called Kensington Stone, found in Minnesota, bears a runic inscription, but it has been conclusively shown by Professor G. T. Flom to be a recent forgery."

A large number of excellent illustrations and several folding maps add to the value of the work. The bibliography, though not critical, is useful, but the index is inadequate.

S. J. B.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Classification of Manuscripts

Considerable progress has been made during the last few months in the work of arranging and filing the society's valuable collections of manuscripts. Such material when received is usually without logical arrangement; the papers are almost always folded, often badly wrinkled, and sometimes coated with dirt. To ensure their preservation and to render them accessible, the papers are unfolded and smoothed out, carefully cleaned, and filed flat in manila folders placed in specially constructed dust-proof and light-proof filing boxes. Often the documents are so badly creased and wrinkled that they have to be dampened and pressed between blotters before they can be filed, and many of them ought to be repaired and strengthened by being covered with mousseline, a transparent fabric used for that purpose. This latter is a slow and delicate process, and it has seemed best to arrange and file the collections first and then take up the repairing of the papers which need it.

In filing, the chronological arrangement is used in accordance with the modern practice in practically all large depositories of manuscripts. A subject classification offers insuperable difficulties and requires an elaborate index; an alphabetical arrangement is of value only to one who is looking for a specific letter by a known writer; while the chronological arrangement enables a student interested in an event or a period to read his sources in the order in which they were written. In the course of time calendars of the documents in the various collections should be compiled and published. These would not only facilitate the work of the investigator but would tend to preserve the papers themselves by decreasing the amount of handling necessary to find desired material.

The largest single lot of manuscripts which has been filed consists of the Donnelly Papers. These were estimated at thirty thousand, but after being arranged they are found to number nearly fifty thousand and fill sixty-four filing boxes. Supple-

menting these papers, which consist mainly of letters received, are six letter-press books containing copies of letters written by Donnelly, and eighteen scrapbooks compiled by him. The career of Ignatius Donnelly as author, editor, and radical political leader is so well known that the great value of this collection, covering as it does nearly half a century from 1856 to 1900, and containing letters on nearly every conceivable subject and from all sorts of people, prominent and otherwise, will be quite obvious.

Several months ago Mr. Kellar, while searching for archival material in the Old Capitol, discovered in one of the basement rooms used by the historical society a trunk containing the papers of James W. Taylor. None of the staff of the society knew of the existence of these papers, but it later developed that they came into its possession shortly after Taylor's death in 1893, during an interim in the secretaryship of the society, and that they have lain untouched in its storeroom ever since. The trunk was immediately moved to one of the society's vaults in the New Capitol, and during the summer the papers have been carefully arranged and filed by Mr. Theodore Blegen, a graduate student in history in the University of Minnesota.

James W. Taylor was born in New York in 1819, engaged in journalism in Ohio in the forties, and served as a member of the constitutional convention of 1849–50 and as state librarian from 1852 to 1856. In the latter year he removed to Minnesota and immediately became interested in the promotion of railroad enterprises. In 1859 he was appointed special agent of the treasury department to investigate reciprocal relations of trade and transportation between the United States and Canada, a position which he held for nine years. From 1870 until his death he was United States consul at Winnipeg. Taylor's official positions and his wide interests make his papers a veritable mine of material for the history of the West both in the United States and Canada, and for the relations between the two countries. They consist of approximately seventeen hundred letters and documents dating from 1859 to 1893; some twenty letter books containing copies of about the same number of letters; drafts of about forty speeches, essays, or newspaper articles; two large scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, besides many loose clippings and papers; three ledgers; twenty-one maps, some of which are original drawings; and a

number of pictures. With the collection were four bound books and thirty-three pamphlets, which will be catalogued and placed in the library.

Using this material as a basis, Mr. Blegen has written a sketch of Taylor's life which will be published in a later number of the BULLETIN. In connection with the preparation of this paper he made a trip to Winnipeg to consult the files of newspapers in the provincial library and to talk with some of Taylor's associates who are still living there. Mr. Blegen has also compiled a bibliography of Taylor's published writings which runs to over thirty items, and he is working on an extended description of the papers.

Early in July Mr. Kellar completed his work in the archives, and his report, which amounts practically to an inventory of the archives of the state and territory, so far as they are still in existence, was dispatched to the chairman of the public archives commission of the American Historical Association for inclusion in the 1914 *Report*. Mr. Kellar then took up the work of classifying, filing, and calendaring the Murray Papers. A brief description of this collection, together with a few selected letters, will be found in the section of this issue devoted to documents.

A SCANDINAVIAN-AMERICAN COLLECTION

The increased attention paid in recent years to the non-political aspects of American history has resulted in a recognition of the important part which various foreign elements have played in the development of the country. Of these elements the Scandinavian has been especially prominent in the Northwest, and the history of the region can not be understood without a knowledge of its contribution. Somewhere there should be built up a comprehensive collection of material for Scandinavian-American history, and, as Minnesota has a larger number of Scandinavians in her population than any other state, the Minnesota Historical Society is the logical institution to do this work. Prominent representatives of these races to whom the proposition has been broached have become enthusiastic over it, and, with their coöperation assured, rapid progress can be made.

It is intended that not only books and pamphlets of a formal historical character but also much original source material shall

be secured. Files of Scandinavian-American papers and magazines, reports of religious organizations and educational institutions, and especially diaries and collections of letters are desired. To get the project under way, Mr. Blegen, whose knowledge of the Scandinavian languages and of the literature of the subject has been of great value, prepared a want-list of books and pamphlets, which was sent to several leading publishing houses and dealers in such material. Exceptionally large discounts were secured, and many of the books are already on the shelves. To pick up the older out-of-print books and files of newspapers and periodicals will require much more time and extensive search.

Sometime ago the University of Minnesota began to collect Scandinavian material, and a division of the field between the two institutions seems desirable. A tentative agreement has been reached to the effect that the university will collect material relating to the Scandinavian countries themselves and to the languages and literatures, while the gathering of material relating to these elements in America will be left to the society. In accordance with this division negotiations have been begun for the transfer to the society's library of some material already collected at the university.

Gifts

Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick of Chicago has presented to the society number 37 of the *Illinois-Wabash Land Company Manuscript* (1915. 22, 40 p.). The volume consists of a photographic facsimile of the manuscript and an introductory account of "The Illinois-Wabash Land Company" by Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois. The documents reproduced throw light on the attempt of William Murray and his associates to obtain possession of large tracts of land in the West by purchase from the Indians during the period of British control. After the Revolution the claims of this company were pressed before Congress for many years but without success. Professor Alvord's introduction is an excellent account of the operations of the company during the British period and the Revolution.

A box of scrapbooks, letters, and documents has been received from Mr. Hanford L. Gordon, a life member of the society, who

now resides in Los Angeles. Mr. Gordon is well known to Minnesotans as the author of several books of poems relating largely to the Northwest. Born in New York in 1846, he settled in Clearwater in 1857. Later he practiced law in St. Cloud and served as register of the United States land office located there. He was a member of the state senate in 1867–68 and resided in Minneapolis from 1878 to 1888.[1] While the material in the box is given to the society without reserve, Mr. Gordon requests that it be withheld from consultation by any except officials of the society during his lifetime. This request will be scrupulously complied with.

[1] Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 266 (*M. H. C.*, 14).

NEWS AND COMMENT

The work of the department of Indiana history and archives is summarized in the *Thirtieth Biennial Report* of the librarian of the Indiana State Library for the period ending September 30, 1914 (Indianapolis, 1914. 107 p.). The department, which was formally established by an act of March 6, 1913, has "the care and custody of official archives which come into the possession of the state library" and is authorized to examine and classify "documents and records not of present day use to their respective departments." Among its purposes and duties are also "the collection of materials bearing upon the history of the state and of the territory included therein; the diffusion of knowledge with reference to the history of the state; the encouragement of historical work and research." Dr. Harlow Lindley, professor of history in Earlham College, is the director of the department.

Another forward step was taken in Indiana when the last legislature established the Indiana Historical Commission to consist of the governor, the director of the Indiana historical survey of Indiana University, the head of the department of archives and history of the state library, and five others to be appointed by the governor. The functions of the commission are twofold: to make arrangements for the celebration in 1916 of the centennial of the admission of the state to the Union, and to edit and publish documentary material relating to the history of the state. Twenty-five thousand dollars has been appropriated for the work of the commission and of this amount five thousand dollars has been set aside for the second phase of its activities. The commission has an article in the June *Bulletin* of the state library setting forth some of its plans and asking for coöperation in carrying them out.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has issued its *Seventh Biennial Report* for the two years ending December 31, 1914 (Jefferson City, [1915]. 47 p.). The law governing the society, which is printed in this *Report,* establishes it as trustee of the state and directs that it shall "hold all its present and future col-

lections and property for the state." The same statute provides that "sixty bound copies of each of the several publications of the state, and of its societies and institutions" shall be given to the society to be used in exchange with other societies and institutions. A large fireproof building, now in course of construction in Columbia, will house both the historical society and the library of the University of Missouri.

The board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society has issued its *Nineteenth Biennial Report* for the period ending June 30, 1914 (Topeka, 1915. 175 p.). The society has just moved its library and museum and the state archives, of which it has charge, into a Memorial Building constructed by the state at a cost of about half a million dollars. Inasmuch as the society's collections number 237,686 books and pamphlets, 149,851 archival documents, 44,628 other manuscripts, 9,127 pictures, 7,616 maps, atlases, and charts, and 9,809 relics, it will readily be seen that the moving was no small task. The work appears to have been sadly hampered by lack of funds and by lack of equipment in the new building. William E. Connelly is now secretary of the society, succeeding George W. Martin, who died March 27, 1914.

The *Twenty-seventh Report* of the commissioner of public records of Massachusetts (Boston, 1915. 9 p.) is for the year 1914. The commissioner, Henry E. Woods, inspected the condition of public records in one hundred and fifty towns during the year and made many recommendations for their better care and protection against fire. Acting upon his orders, a number of towns and counties had records repaired, renovated, and bound by the Emery Record Preserving Company. The report contains a list of approved typewriter ribbons and stamping pads. The use of any other ribbons or pads in the making of public records, either state or local, is forbidden by law.

Ten years ago representatives of twelve historical societies in Pennsylvania met in Harrisburg and organized the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies. The *Acts and Proceedings* of the tenth annual meeting of this federation, held January 21, 1915 (Harrisburg, 1915. 85 p.), shows that it now has a mem-

bership of forty-one societies, many of which were called into being as a result of the activities of the federation. The president, in his address, complained that the part played by Pennsylvania did not secure adequate consideration in histories of the nation because of the lack of local historical work in the state as compared with New England. If this be true of Pennsylvania, what shall be said of the western states in which active and effective local historical societies, apart from the state institutions, are almost non-existent?

An especially valuable section of the pamphlet contains the reports of the constituent institutions for the year ending January 21, 1915. This contains the names and addresses of officers, number of members, number of meetings held, titles of publications issued and papers read, and statements of special work done. Another section contains lists of publications in the fields of Pennsylvania history, genealogy, and biography, and of books by Pennsylvanians issued during the year—a valuable contribution to the bibliography of the state.

The federation is supported by dues of two dollars a year from each constituent society and by a small appropriation from the the state. It is endeavoring to secure the passage of an act providing for the appointment, in the division of public records of the state library, of a supervisor of public records, "whose duty it shall be to examine into the condition of the records in the several public offices of the counties, cities and boroughs of the Commonwealth"; to recommend such action "as shall be necessary to secure their safety and preservation"; and to "cause all laws relating to public records to be enforced."

From the *Report* of the state librarian of Pennsylvania for 1914 (Harrisburg, 1915. 41 p.) it appears that the staff of the division of public records, which has charge of classifying and indexing the state archives and such county archives as are transferred to its care, consists of a custodian, eleven assistants, and a messenger.

The State Historical Society of Missouri is making a special effort to collect the published minutes of various church organizations in the state and now has several thousand of them. The fact that few of the organizations possess complete files of their

own minutes emphasizes the importance of sending copies of such publications to the state historical society where they are certain to be preserved and where they will be available for future reference.

The June issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* is devoted largely to the history of the Northwest. Frederic L. Paxson writes of "A Constitution of Democracy—Wisconsin, 1847"; George N. Fuller, of the "Settlement of Michigan Territory"; and Archer B. Hulbert, of "The Methods and Operations of the Scioto Group of Speculators"; "Historical Activities in the Old Northwest, 1914–1915" are described by Solon J. Buck. The department of "Notes and Documents" contains an account of "Some New-found Records of the Lewis and Clark Expedition" by Milo M. Quaife; a letter relating to "Detroit during the Revolution," contributed by C. M. Burton; and a letter relating to "The French Settlers at Gallipolis," written by Joseph Gilman, a member of the Ohio Company, at Marietta in 1793. This last document was contributed by Mrs. Charles P. Noyes of St. Paul.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July contains a number of articles of considerable interest to students of Minnesota history. Two of these entitled "The Neutral Ground" and "The Black Hawk War and the Treaty of 1832," both by Jacob Van der Zee, deal with Indian affairs in the upper Mississippi Valley during the thirties and forties. "The Grasshopper Plagues in Iowa," by John E. Briggs, tells of the various visitations, the resultant losses and privations, the relief measures, the attempts to destroy the pests, and the effect on settlement and agriculture. Minnesota and other western states, as well as Iowa, suffered severely from these visitations, and the article necessarily throws light on the whole subject, which is one of considerable importance in the economic history of the Northwest. The archives of the state of Minnesota, especially the miscellaneous files in the governor's office, contain much valuable material on the subject, and presumably similar documents could be found in the archives of the other states involved. Mr. Briggs does not appear to have used any such material, although he has consulted the newspapers and printed documents.

The April issue of the *Annals of Iowa* is a "Public Archives Number." The first article is a valuable paper by Ethel B. Virtue of the Historical Department of Iowa on "Principles of Classification of Archives." This paper was originally prepared for the conference of archivists held in Chicago, December 31, 1914, in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association. It is illustrated with photographs of the rooms and filing devices of the public archives division of the Historical Department of Iowa. C. C. Stiles, who has charge of archival work in Iowa, presents a detailed schedule of the classification adopted for the documents from the auditor's office. Similar schedules for the offices of governor and secretary of state were published in the *Annals* for October, 1911, and January–April, 1912.

The Tennessee Historical Society has published two numbers, March and June, 1915, of its new quarterly, the *Tennessee Historical Magazine.* Professor St. George L. Sioussat of Vanderbilt University is the editor. Each number contains scholarly historical articles, well-edited documents, and a department of news and notes. In the March issue is printed a bill for the establishment of a state department of archives and history which was introduced in the last legislature. Such a department or commission, charged with the care of archives and historical materials, has been created in nearly every other southern state.

The Historical Department of Iowa has published a pamphlet entitled *Iowa Authors and Their Works, a Contribution toward a Bibliography,* by Alice Marple, assistant curator (Des Moines, 1914. 151 p.). The department has a large collection of the books listed, and much information was secured by circularizing the writers themselves. Biographical data were also collected, although not used in the present work, which is put forward as "tentative."

The South Dakota Department of History has recently issued a pamphlet descriptive of its work (n. d. 32 p.). The department is by law under the management of the state historical society and has charge not only of the state's historical interests but also of the state library, including legislative, reference, and

traveling libraries, the state census, vital statistics, and the preparation and publication of an annual review of the progress of the state. Seven volumes of *Historical Collections* have been published by the department.

The *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin,* which is edited by the history staff of the University of Texas, began in the May number a department of "Source Readings in Texas History" intended for the use of teachers in the grades. The first installment contains two contemporary accounts of life in Texas in the thirties.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, keeper of manuscripts in the New York Public Library, has edited from the original manuscript in the collection over which he has charge, the journal of Mrs. Lodisa Frizell of a trip *Across the Plains to California in 1852* (New York, 1915. 30 p.). This is a valuable account of the experiences of a small party which traveled overland from the Little Wabash River in Illinois, via St. Louis, St. Joseph, Fort Kearney, Fort Laramie, and the South Pass. The pamphlet is reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for April, 1915.

An article on "The Preservation of Historical Records in Holland," by Henry A. Sharp in the *Library World* (London) for January, 1914, is summarized as follows in the *American Library Annual* for 1914–15 (p. 218): "Each of the eleven states of Holland has a provincial depot for the preservation and documentation of local records, that at The Hague being at once the central repository for the whole country, as well as the depot for a specific province. Each depot is in charge of an archivist whose duty it is to collect and index all records in his district, and to make an annual report to the chief archivist. Registers of births, baptisms, betrothals, marriages, deaths, removals, and property are kept. The Amsterdam repository is also collecting material of all kinds relating to the city and the citizens—magazine articles, photographs of buildings, playbills, and portraits."

Dr. W. Dawson Johnston of the St. Paul Public Library has an article on "The Library and History Teaching, with Special Reference to the Teaching of Local History" in *School and Society* for July 3, 1915. Dr. Johnston advocates the extensive

collection of material for local history by libraries, together with a stimulation of interest in the subject by means of lectures and excursions. The Chicago history lectures for children, given weekly under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society, and the activities of the City History Club of New York in promoting lectures, excursions, and individual study are described. The latter organization has published an *Historical Guide to the City of New York,* compiled by Frank B. Kelley from original observations and contributions made by members and friends of the club (rev. ed., New York, 1913. 421 p.), which is an excellent example of the sort of work that ought to be done in other communities.

"The Evolution of America," by President Frank L. McVey, in the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota for July, 1915, is an historical address delivered at the University of Christiania in 1912. The same issue contains an article by Professor William G. Bek, "Some Facts concerning the Germans of North Dakota," which points out "opportunities for cultural historical studies."

An article entitled "Following Leif Erickson," by Björn B. Jónsson in the *American-Scandinavian Review* for March–April, deals with the settlement of Icelanders in Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and western Canada. A number of representatives of the race who have achieved prominence in politics or business are referred to. Among them is Hon. G. B. Björnson of Minneota, Minnesota, whose picture accompanies the article.

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for Sunday, July 11, contains a feature story on early steamboating on the Mississippi. It opens with an account of an interview with Captain Fred A. Bill of Minneapolis, who was formerly connected with the Diamond Jo Line and who has made an extensive collection of pictures of steamboats and river scenes. Then follow extracts from a paper dealing with early steamboat days read at the recent meeting of the Minnesota Old Settlers' Association by Mrs. Jeanette Lamprey, a daughter of Captain Louis Robert. The article ends with a brief sketch of Captain Robert's career by R. I. Holcombe. Captain Robert was a prominent riverman before the Civil War

and played an important part in the early history of St. Paul and Minnesota. Mrs. Lamprey's paper was printed in full in the Burlington (Iowa) *Saturday Evening Post* of June 26 and reprinted in the issue of July 17.

A "History of Navigation on the Red River of the North, 1858–1915," by Frank M. Painter of St. Paul, has been published in the issues of the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, for June 12 and 19 and July 3 and 10, 1915. Another article entitled "Steamboating on the Red River of the North," by Fred A. Bill of Minneapolis, appeared in the July 31 and August 7 issues of the same paper. A manuscript copy of this article, which was written for the North Dakota Historical Society, was presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by Mr. Bill several months ago.

The bureau of navigation of the navy department has issued a *Course in History, Geography, Arithmetic, etc., for the Use of Enlisted Men* (Washington, 1915. 91 p.). The pamphlet consists entirely of brief questions and answers, of which the following are typical: "*Q.* How did the Indians spend their time? *A.* They hunted with bows and arrows and fished." "*Q.* What did Lincoln do about a month after he became President?" "*Q.* What catastrophe occurred on the Pacific coast of the United States in 1906?" Apparently the pedagogical methods of the early nineteenth century have not entirely disappeared from the land. It might be well for the officials in charge of this work in the navy to consult with some of the experts in the bureau of education.

In the *Nation* for May 20 appeared an interesting editorial entitled "Our States and Their History," in which attention is called to the work being done by some of the state and local historical societies. The writer points out the value of this work and argues for increased attention to the history of the separate states. Many of the ideas in the editorial and most of the illustrative anecdotes appear to have been derived, either directly or indirectly, from Professor Alvord's paper in the first number of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, although the paper itself is not mentioned. Still more surprising is the reference to a "wealthy . . . Minneapolis Historical Society."

Attention should be called to an error on page 74 of the last issue of the BULLETIN. It appears that the recently destroyed St. Paul Public Library building was not the old market house which was built in 1853, but another building constructed in 1881 on the same site and for similar purposes.

MINNESOTA PUBLICATIONS

Results of Spirit Leveling in Minnesota, 1897 to 1914, Inclusive, by R. B. Marshall, chief geographer of the United States Geological Survey, has been issued by the survey as *Bulletin* 560 (Washington, 1915. 190 p.). From 1909 to 1914, inclusive, the work upon which the publication is based was carried on in coöperation with the state of Minnesota.

An Investigation of the Concrete Road-Making Properties of Minnesota Stone and Gravel, by Charles Franklin Shoop, assistant professor of experimental engineering, University of Minnesota (Minneapolis, 1915. 46 p.), is number 2 of *Studies in Engineering* published by the University of Minnesota.

The *Northwestern Miller* has issued the seventh annual edition of the *Miller's Almanack and Year Book of the Trade* for the year 1915–16 (Minneapolis, May 1915. 240 p.). The volume contains general information and statistical data of value to the grain and milling industries, gathered from authoritative sources. Although compiled primarily for the industries concerned, this series of publications will be of great service to the future economic historian.

Through the Mill by "4342," a Prison Story That's Different (St. Paul, G. L. Bartlett, c. 1915. 139 p.) is a well-written and reliable account of the Minnesota state prison at Stillwater, based on the experiences of an intelligent ex-convict. The routine of the prison is carefully described, several sets of rules are printed in full, and a number of chapters are devoted to an arraignment of the "Indeterminate Sentence."

"A Few Facts Relating to the Minnesota State Board of Health," by Dr. H. M. Bracken; "A Letter on the Criticisms of the Minnesota State Board of Health," by Oscar C. Pierson; and an editorial on "The Ethical Side of the State Board of Health,"

by Dr. W. A. Jones, have been reprinted from the *Journal-Lancet* of August 1, 1915, in the form of a pamphlet (23 p.).

An editorial on "The University of Minnesota and the Mayo Foundation" is reprinted from the *Journal* of the American Medical Association in *School and Society* for July 3, 1915.

The superintendent of education, C. G. Schulz, has brought out the *Eighteenth Biennial Report* of his department, in which statistics of teachers, pupils, property, appropriations, etc., both general and by counties, are given for the school years ending in 1913 and 1914 (1915. 117 p.). A report of the state normal school board is included.

The *Seventh Biennial Report* of the state board of control (1915. 448 p.) covers the period ending July 31, 1914. The book contains a large amount of information, including much statistical material of interest to sociologists and of value to the future student of social history. Reports of the executives of the many institutions under the control of the board are included.

The *Fifth Biennial Report* of the state board of health (1915. 294 p.) covers the work of the board and of its various departments during 1913 and 1914 and contains vital statistics for 1912 and 1913.

The board of education of Minneapolis has published a *Report* covering the school and fiscal years ending June 30, 1912, June 30, 1913, and June 30, 1914 ([Minneapolis, 1915]. 223 p.). The volume furnishes an interesting and valuable chapter in the educational history of Minneapolis. Superintendent Jordan in his report to the board for this period, besides giving the usual statistics of enrollment and equipment, makes special mention of social center work; of the establishment of the Thomas Arnold School as a disciplinary and opportunity school and of open air schools and schools for the mentally defective; of the school savings department; and of the teachers' retirement fund association. Supplementing the report of the superintendent are reports of the supervisors of various special departments. Of particular interest will be the one covering evening school work, the statement of the work of the summer schools, the report of the 1913

school census, and the statistics furnished by the truant officer. The book contains numerous half-tone illustrations.

The *Twenty-fifth Annual Report* of the Minneapolis Public Library (Minneapolis, [1915]. 48 p.) covers the year 1914 and deals not only with the central library and its branches, but also with the Minneapolis Athenaeum, which is affiliated with the library.

The *Thirty-second Annual Report* of the board of park commissioners (Minneapolis, [1915]. 157 p.) records the activities of the board during the year and contains a large amount of interesting information about the parks and playgrounds of the city. The *Report* is attractively printed and contains numerous illustrations, maps, and diagrams.

Number 3 of volume 3, new series, of the *Macalester College Bulletin* is the *Catalog Number* for the year 1914–15, containing calendar and curricula announcements for the year 1915–16 (St. Paul, April, 1915. 124 p.).

The St. Cloud State Normal School has issued its *Annual Catalog* for the school year ending June 9, 1915, with the announcements for the year 1915–16 ([St. Cloud, 1915]. 43 p.).

The *Thirteenth Annual Catalogue* of the Duluth State Normal School ([Duluth, 1915]. 40 p.) contains announcements of courses of study for the year 1915–16.

In its *Catalogue* for the year 1915–16 the Red Wing Seminary and College outlines the courses offered in the various departments: theological, collegiate, academic, and commercial (Red Wing, May, 1915. 42 p.).

A series of articles reminiscent of early days in Winona by Orrin Fruit Smith appeared in the issues of the *Winona Republican-Herald* for June 26, July 3 and 10, 1915.

In the July 22, 1915 issue of the *Battle Lake Review* appeared an interesting sketch by Henry Way of Audubon of the early-day trials of the first settlers of Battle Lake.

In a letter to the *St. James Plaindealer*, July 31, 1915, I. H.

Mather gives some personal recollections of early days in Minnesota, describing in particular the early schools with their lack of good books and equipment.

The July 14, 1915 issue of the *Mankato Daily Review* contains an interesting account of an auto trip taken by a party of pioneer residents of Blue Earth County to points of old-time interest along the Watonwan River and in the country thereabout.

The *Morgan Messenger* announces in its issue of July 29, 1915, the publication in the coming fall of a history of Redwood County by H. C. Cooper Jr. and Company of Chicago. The early history of this county is of especial interest, since the first outbreak of the Sioux War of 1862 occurred at the Lower Sioux Agency, which was located in the northwestern quarter of the present township of Sherman.

A full account of the sixth annual reunion of the old settlers of Marshall County, at which over one thousand persons were in attendance, is given in the July 30, 1915 issue of the *Stephen Leader*. The principal speaker on the afternoon program was Congressman Steenerson, who, after giving an account of his experiences in pioneer days, made some comparison between the commercial business of that early time and the present-day "trusts."

Captain Henry A. Castle has an article in the July number of the *North American Review* on "The Post Office and Socialism." Captain Castle was postmaster of St. Paul, 1892–96 and auditor of the United States Post Office Department, 1897–1903.

The H. W. Wilson Company, formerly of Minneapolis and now of White Plains, New York, has issued an *Index to Short Stories,* compiled by Ina Ten Eyck Firkins, reference librarian at the University of Minnesota (1915. 374 p.).

Dr. W. Dawson Johnston of the St. Paul Public Library is the author of an article on "Public Libraries and the Drama" in the *Bulletin of Bibliography* for July.

Radisson, the Voyageur (New York, Holt, 1914. 115 p.) is the title of "a verse drama in four acts" by Lily A. Long of St.

Paul. The experiences of Radisson and Groseilliers, the first white men who are known to have penetrated the region beyond Lake Superior, furnish the historical background for a love adventure between the hero and an Indian maiden, all told in excellent verse. An historical note is appended, and directions are given as to costuming and mounting for amateur production.

Rev. Edward Schuch, pastor of the Swedish Lutheran Bethlehem Church of Minneapolis, is the author of an interesting book on *Castles and Abbeys of England in Poetic and Romantic Lore* (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, c. 1915. 320 p.).

Mr. Warren Upham, archeologist of the Minnesota Historical Society, has an article entitled "Geologic and Archaeologic Time" in *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July. A number of separates have been issued.

MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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JAMES WICKES TAYLOR: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH[1]

A recent monograph on the Canadian annexation movement of 1849–50 declares in its opening paragraph that although a most important influence on the course of Canadian history has been exercised by the United States, yet the mutual relations of the two countries have received but little attention from historians and political scientists.[2] In the rapid development of the Northwest during the latter half of the last century, the mutual relations and influences of Canada and the United States have been of vital significance. In commerce, immigration, and railroad expansion particularly, the interrelations of the two countries have been of far-reaching importance. But there are many other aspects—political, economic, and social—that have received but scant attention from historians.[3]

To no small degree the study of these interrelations is bound up in the activity of the men who took the initiative in making known the vast resources of the Northwest and in vigorously forwarding their development. The making of the Northwest was a task that demanded men of action—builders, drivers,

[1] Read in part at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, October 11, 1915. The sketch is based largely on hitherto unknown material—the Taylor Papers in the possession of the society. All manuscript material referred to will be found in this collection. The newspaper items cited can be found in the files of the Minnesota Historical Society, with the exception of the Winnipeg papers from 1889 to 1893, which were consulted at the provincial library in Winnipeg. *Ed.*

[2] Cephas D. Allin and George M. Jones, *Annexation, Preferential Trade, and Reciprocity,* preface, v (Toronto, n.d.).

[3] A summary of diplomatic and political relations is to be found in Sir John G. Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule, 1760–1900,* ch. 10 (*Cambridge Historical Series*—Cambridge, 1900). See also the monumental *Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions,* edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto, 1914).

executives. Yet of almost equal importance was the work of writers and investigators. In a biography of a pioneer editor, Mr. F. F. Stephens writes: "It is recorded of American newspaper editors that in the Westward Movement they were always in the vanguard, setting up their presses and issuing their sheets before the forests had been cleared or the sod turned."[1] One can hardly overestimate the influence of the far-seeing pioneers who labored with the pen to advance the interests of the Northwest. The career of James Wickes Taylor illustrates strikingly the importance of that phase of "empire-building," although his activities were by no means limited to that phase. In the history of Minnesota and the American and Canadian Northwest, the labors of Taylor and men like Taylor were of considerable consequence. Taylor was one of those figures who, looking back on the history of the Northwest for half a century, with its amazing growth and development, might well have paraphrased the famous exclamation of Aeneas and said, "All of this I have seen; part of it I am."[2]

New York and Ohio, 1819–56

James Wickes Taylor was born on the sixth of November, 1819, in Starkey, Yates County, New York. His father James Taylor was the son of an Englishman who had served in the army of Burgoyne, and Ruth Chappel, a native of Connecticut. The life of this James Taylor possesses great interest. As a youth he went to the lumber districts of Canada, working with lumber enterprises, and teaching school. He narrowly avoided the Canadian draft in the War of 1812, and returned to the United States. Taking up his residence in New York, he engaged in school-teaching and the study of law. In 1816 he was admitted to practice in the court of common pleas of Seneca County, New York. In 1823 he was admitted as an

[1] *Missouri Historical Review,* 9: 139 (April, 1915).

[2] Taylor delighted in quoting this phrase, an incorrect rendering of the well-known line: "Quaeque ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars magna fui." Vergil, *Aeneid,* book 2, verse 5.

attorney of the supreme court of the state, and nine years later to the court of chancery and the United States courts. For several terms subsequent to 1829 he was district attorney of Yates County, and often held commissions as master and examiner in chancery. At one time he was candidate for justice of the supreme court of New York, but failed of election. James Taylor married Miss Maria Wickes, January 19, 1819,[1] and of their five children, James Wickes Taylor was the oldest.[2]

James Taylor determined to give his son a good education, and he was, accordingly, sent to Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, entering as a freshman from Penn Yan, New York, and graduating in 1838. He took a prominent part in college activities and was a member of the Alpha Delta Phi and Phi Beta Kappa fraternities.[3] Two years after graduation, upon the death of a prominent classmate, Taylor was chosen to deliver a funeral oration. This address, given before the Hamilton Chapter of the Alpha Delta Phi Society, was later printed at the request of the chapter.[4] It is of considerable power, and reveals those decided gifts as a writer and speaker which Taylor possessed even then, though he was but twenty-one years old.

After leaving college, Taylor became interested in journalism, and, on his arrival in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1842, he combined the study of law (in which he was associated with Salmon

[1] Maria Wickes was the daughter of Captain Silas Wickes, one of the first settlers of Steuben County, New York.

[2] These facts are taken from an undated manuscript, in the Taylor Papers, written by his son James W. Taylor. See also Lewis C. Aldrich, ed., *History of Yates County, N. Y.*, 173 (Syracuse, 1892), for an account of James Taylor, in which his integrity, his ability as a lawyer, and his gentlemanly deportment are highly commended. According to this account Taylor was district attorney of Yates County four years.

[3] Personal letter to the writer from President Stryker of Hamilton College, July 15, 1915.

[4] *Address on the Life and Character of George Langford Jr.* (Utica, 1840).

P. Chase,[1] afterwards secretary of the treasury under Lincoln) with the practice of journalism.[2] He soon attracted attention by his terse, vigorous articles on current topics, and by his eloquence and fluency as a speaker. A Cincinnati newspaper man, in his recollections of Taylor, refers to him as a "well educated young lawyer of fine talents, and possessing an exceedingly philosophic and inquiring mind."[3] As a Democrat he gave for a time voluntary assistance to Eliphale Case, the editor of the *Enquirer*. In 1845 Taylor married Chloe Sweeting Langford, a sister of the well-known Nathaniel P. Langford of St. Paul, Minnesota.[4] The following year he established a newspaper of his own, the *Cincinnati Morning Signal,* and through its columns began to take an active part in political affairs. His editorials attracted considerable attention. The paper was opposed to the extension of slavery, but was otherwise orthodox Democratic.[5] In 1847, through the editorial columns of the *Signal,* Taylor nominated General Zachary Taylor as an independent candidate for the presidency. In referring to this later, he declares that he did so

mainly on the ground that although a Southern slaveholder, he

[1] Albert B. Hart, writing of Chase, says: "From about 1834, when Chase had gained a reputation as a lawyer, he always had in his office one or more law students. . . . Nothing more plainly speaks the real sanity and strength of Chase's character than the later success of many of these men in law and in public life." *Salmon Portland Chase,* 24 (*American Statesmen* series—Boston and New York, 1899).

[2] Taylor to Rev. P. C. Hastings, June 8, 1888. In this letter to a Hamilton College classmate Taylor very briefly tells of his career after graduation. See also *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893, and "Old Times of the Press" in *Cincinnati Commercial,* June 27, 1881. The latter article is signed "J. P. O., Taylor's Falls, Minn., June 15, 1881." The writer was probably John Phillips Owens, a journalist who came to Minnesota from Ohio in 1849, edited the *Minnesota Register,* and later the *Minnesotian,* served as register of the United States land office at Taylor's Falls, and died there September 11, 1884. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 572 (*M. H. C.,* vol. 14).

[3] *Cincinnati Commercial,* June 27, 1881.

[4] Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 421 (*M. H. C.,* vol. 14).

[5] *Cincinnati Commercial,* June 27, 1881.

[*General Taylor*] would still withhold the veto of a congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories. My language was—"The extension of the Ordinance of 1787 over our Pacific Empire present and future is an object too high and permanent to be baffled by Presidential vetoes," and the expression of his decided approval of the sentiments of the *Signal* editorial, nominating him as a candidate independent of existing parties made him for nearly a year the favorite of the anti-slavery democracy of New York and elsewhere.[1]

President Taylor's letter—the so-called "Signal letter"—attracted widespread attention.[2] Later, when General Taylor accepted the nomination of the Whigs, James W. Taylor, unwilling to ally himself with that party, gave his support to the Buffalo ticket of Van Buren and Adams, and the Free Soil Party. The *Cincinnati Morning Signal* ceased to exist.[3]

During this same period Taylor was giving serious attention to literary work, and in 1847 published his first book entitled *The Victim of Intrigue.* This had first appeared serially in the columns of his newspaper, and was a work of fiction dealing with the conspiracy of Aaron Burr. It was written, however, with a political and historical purpose, namely, "to vindicate the reputation of John Smith, the first Senator from Ohio, from the charge that he was implicated in Burr's Conspiracy."[4]

Taylor had acquired prominence in political circles, and recognition of this came in his election, as a representative of Erie County, to the state constitutional convention of 1849–50.[5] He took an important part in its proceedings. It was

[1] Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888.

[2] President Taylor's letter may be found in *Niles' National Register,* 72:288 (July 3, 1847); also in John R. Irelan, *History of the Life, Administration, and Times of Zachary Taylor,* 433 (*The Republic,* vol. 12—Chicago, 1888).

[3] *Cincinnati Commercial,* June 27, 1881; also Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888. Because of his agitations in connection with the *Cincinnati Morning Signal* Taylor received the soubriquet of "Signal Taylor."

[4] Preface. See also Peter G. Thomson, *Bibliography of the State of Ohio,* 338 (Cincinnati, 1880).

[5] Taylor to Rutherford B. Hayes, February 21, 1877; Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888; *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893.

he who moved a provision for a commission to simplify and reform judicial procedure, a proposition that received strong support. Such a commission was established, and Taylor himself served as its secretary. Its report, advocating revision of the judicial code of Ohio, was substantially the Dudley Field code of New York, Ohio being the first state to follow New York in its adoption.[1]

Not long after the suspension of the *Cincinnati Morning Signal* Taylor removed to Sandusky, Ohio, where he edited a newspaper for a time.[2] In 1852 he was made state librarian (probably through the influence of Salmon P. Chase), a position which he held until his departure for Minnesota in 1856.[3] While in this position he began to take an interest in, and acquire a knowledge of, the northwest territories, first of the United States and then of Canada. Through the discussions

[1] Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888. For an account of the convention, see Emilius O. Randall and Daniel J. Ryan, *History of Ohio,* 4: 103–16 (New York, 1912). The constitution as adopted is to be found in Wilbur H. Siebert, *Government of Ohio,* 252–68 *(Handbooks of American Government* series—New York, 1904).

It is interesting to note that another prominent early citizen of Minnesota was a member of this convention. Colonel D. A. Robertson represented Lancaster County in the first session and attracted considerable attention by his advocacy of the abolition of the state senate. Before the convention had completed its labors, he resigned and moved to St. Paul. See his papers, recently presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by his son Victor Robertson; also J. Fletcher Williams, *History of St. Paul,* 283 (*M. H. C.,* vol. 4). *Ed.*

[2] "Chase had a keen sense of the influence of newspaper editors and of their inside knowledge of the currents of public opinion. Dozens of them corresponded with him, among them J. W. Taylor of the 'Sandusky Register,' one of Chase's former law students." Hart, *Salmon P. Chase,* 62. See also *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893.

A collection of some of the more important Chase papers was published by the public archives commission of the American Historical Association in its *Annual Report* for 1902, volume 2. While there appeared in this published collection no mention of letters from Taylor to Chase, it is probable that many such letters are to be found in the Chase collection, which is now in the possession of the Library of Congress.

[3] Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888.

in the constitutional convention he had gained some knowledge of the resources of the Northwest, and now, with good library facilities at his disposal, he began a thorough study of the subject. Writing of his activity, he later said, "In 1854 I was State Librarian of Ohio (Columbus) and collected every thing then in print upon the Northwest."[1] He spent much of his time in research. At the request of the governor he made a trip to Harrisburg to search the Pennsylvania archives for historical data regarding the boundaries of the two states.[2] With very full sources on Ohio history at his disposal, he prepared and published in 1854 a *History of the State of Ohio, First Period, 1650–1787,* which was intended as a textbook for schools and had a large circulation throughout the state. Mr. Thomson characterizes it as "a very judicious and interesting collection of material already printed in one form or another."[3] An examination of the book shows, however, that Taylor has woven his sources into his narrative; that is, it is not purely a source-book, but a history with full and copious illustrative extracts from original sources, and is, on the whole, a scholarly piece of work.[4] In its preparation his information regarding the Northwest naturally broadened. The titles of the last two chapters of his history are of interest as indicating the foundations that were being laid for his future work: "Colonial Claims to Western Lands, and Their Cession to the United States" and "The Settlement of the North Western Territory—Ordinance of 1787."

At the suggestion of the commissioner of common schools in Ohio, Taylor prepared and published in 1857 a *Manual of the Ohio School System.* In the constitutional convention of

[1] Taylor to R. B. Angus, December 13, 1880.

[2] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893.

[3] *Bibliography of Ohio,* 338.

[4] Among the original narratives from which extracts are included are those of Christopher Gist, Major Robert Rogers, Colonel John Bradstreet, Colonel William Crawford, Colonel Bouquet, Colonel George Rogers Clark, and many others. A great deal of valuable illustrative material is contained in the appendix of the book.

1850–51 he had served upon the standing committee on education and through the report of that committee was instrumental in the forming of article six of the constitution, which relates to education.[1] The *History of Ohio* had been written for school use; Taylor had appeared before the teachers' association as a lecturer; and for a short time had been secretary of the state administration of schools. He was deeply interested in the development of the schools, and the *Manual* is a very complete historical study of the Ohio school system.

In the meantime, however, Taylor found himself becoming more and more absorbed in the investigation of the resources of the northwest territories of the United States and Canada. To questions relating to the climate and agricultural possibilities of the northwest region, particularly of the land northwest of Minnesota and west and northwest of the Selkirk settlement, he gave close study. During the winter of 1855–56 he delivered a series of lectures on the subject before the General Assembly of Ohio, in the hall of the house of representatives. The substance of these lectures was published in the form of a letter under the title "Geographical Memoir of a District of North America, Extending from Latitude 43 deg. 30 min. to 54 deg., and between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg and the Pacific Ocean." It is addressed to William R. Marshall, at that time chairman of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. The article is an able and interesting geographical analysis, and in it Taylor arrives at the conclusion that, while ultimately a railway must push through from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, yet it must accompany systematic settlement along the route, and tributary to that enterprise and to the river and lake transportation of the United States is the

> extensive and hitherto unexplored Saskatchewen plain—an area ample for four large States—with a soil of extraordinary fertility, and summers long enough to mature all the hardy cereals and fruits—thronged by fur-bearing animals . . . skirted and perhaps traversed by coal deposits, compensating for any possible

[1] *Manual of the Ohio School System*, 211–15, 393.

deficiency of forests—in short, a region of health and physical development, which we are not at liberty to doom to steril[i]ty and solitude with the analogies of European geography and history so clearly indicating a hardy and populous settlement of this American Scand[in]avia at no distant period of time.[1]

During the same year an important article by Taylor was published with the title "The Southwestern or Neosho Route of a Pacific Railway—The Expediency of Legislation in Its Favor by the Cherokee, Creek and Choctaw Nations." This is in the form of a letter addressed to George W. Manypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs, and in it Taylor analyzes the geographical situation and argues for an extension of the southwest branch of the Missouri Pacific Railroad to the road following the parallel of thirty-two degrees in Texas, then uniting with the Texas Western and coming to the Pacific at San Diego.[2]

Minnesota, 1856–60

In 1856 Taylor's parents, himself and his family removed to the West.[3] Taylor established himself in a law office in St. Paul, Minnesota, and continued to study the resources of the Northwest, occasionally contributing articles to the press. He prepared a series of papers dealing with the Minnesota boundary question, going thoroughly into the matter, particularly from the geographical point of view. In January,

[1] *Cincinnati Railroad Record Supplement,* April 14, 1856. Commenting editorially, the *Record* says: "The map with which these lectures were illustrated, divides up the territories into twenty-nine new embryo states, which, in course of time, would make our Union consist of sixty States. . . . The names selected for the various divisions or states, are all derived from the aborigines, and are appropriate, mellow, and full of historic interest." The article appears under the caption "Opinions of the Press.—From the Ohio State Journal of January 9."

[2] *Ibid.,* March 3, 1856, reprinted from the *Ohio Statesman.* The letter is dated Columbus, Ohio, February 16, 1856.

[3] Manuscript article on James Taylor by his son James W. Taylor. After one year's residence in St. Paul, his parents removed to Fort Leavenworth, where they later resided. *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893; Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888.

1857, the first of these studies appeared in a St. Paul paper under the title "State Boundary Question—Description of the Country between Red River and Lake Superior." This was followed by an article on the "Valleys of the James and Sioux Rivers—The Missouri Slope of Minnesota," and later by one entitled "State Boundary Question—The Value of the North and South Line to Southern Minnesota."[1] Taylor's views, based largely upon the topographical features of the country, were, briefly, that the north and south line formed a natural division of the territory, and that the Coteau des Prairies, which made commercial communication between the Missouri and the Mississippi impracticable, should mark the line of political separation. He was strongly opposed, therefore, to the inclusion of the James River and the Missouri Valley in substitution for the Red River, Ottertail, and Rainy Lake region. In his opinion the advantages of being connected with the Red River Valley, the sources of the Mississippi, and the western extremity of Lake Superior, on the north, far outweighed those which would be gained by a union with the valleys of the Sioux and James, with a boundary upon the Missouri, to the west.[2] Taylor proved himself something of a prophet, especially in his discussions of the territory north of the international boundary. His statement in regard to Saskatchewan was particularly significant: "Ten years will not elapse before the beautiful valley of the Saskatchewan will be the scene of British and European colonization, instead of, as now, a preserve for a hunting and trapping monopoly; and the geography of the continent indicates, that Lake Superior in one direction, the channel of the Mississippi at a lesser

[1] *St. Paul Advertiser,* January 31, February 21 and 28, 1857. In introducing the first article, the editor wrote: "Mr. Taylor brings to the discussion of the subject a more intimate acquaintance, perhaps, with the Physical and Political Geography of the country than any other man, and a candor and ability in the treatment of the conflicting opinions of others, which entitle his own to profound respect."

[2] Editorial "The Coteau des Prairies—A Natural Division Line" in *ibid.,* April 4, 1857. See also *ibid.,* February 28, 1857.

angle, and a direct railway extension through Southern Minnesota to Chicago, will be the eager contestants for the route of this immense and fertile area to the markets of the World."[1]

The discussion of the boundary question led him naturally to the problem of Northwest British America, and an elaborate discussion of the "Region of North America, Tributary to the Navigation of the Red River of the North, and to the Commerce of Minnesota" appeared in April, 1857. Special attention is given in this article to the capacity of the basin of the Saskatchewan for agricultural development.[2] It was about this time that Taylor was given the soubriquet of "Saskatchewan," an indication of how far he had been instrumental in "familiarizing the public mind with the resources of the valley from which this geographical *soubriquet* is derived."[3]

In the spring of 1857 Taylor was appointed secretary of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company.[4] The company was organized by the legislature of Minnesota, and received a portion of the congressional land grant. This was given to aid in the construction of a main line to the Red River at Breckenridge from Stillwater by way of St. Paul and St. Anthony, with a branch to the international boundary line which was to be built from St. Anthony by way of Anoka, St. Cloud, and Crow Wing to a point later fixed at St. Vincent. The prospects for the road, which was later to expand into a transcontinental railway, were not bright at that time. Taylor's services were needed in spreading information about the region which the proposed line would reach. There was considerable misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the territory,

[1] *St. Paul Advertiser,* February 28, 1857. Taylor had a broad view of the resources of the Northwest. Speaking of its development, he said: "Here is an object, which removes our destiny from the insignificance of a frontier State, making our rivers and railroads the *through fares* to and from regions . . . destined to be an Empire in population and resources before the termination of the century."

[2] *Ibid.,* April 11, 1857.

[3] *Ibid.,* March 20, 1858; *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893.

[4] *St. Paul Advertiser,* April 25, 1857, where the railroad is wrongly called the Northern Pacific.

and emigration was largely directed toward the far West. Taylor sought to convince the capitalists, he wrote later, "that the great trunk line of Northern Minnesota reached a country containing an arable district as large as European Russia and richly endowed with the bounties of Providence." He labored vigorously to direct the interests both of capitalists and settlers to the Northwest.

Great distress was occasioned in the West, and particularly to the Minnesota railroad companies, by the panic which came in the summer of 1857. The Minnesota and Pacific, like the other roads, found it impossible to secure money. The expedient of the "Five Million Loan" was devised.[1] Among the men who vigorously urged the passage of the legislation necessary to effect this loan was James W. Taylor. The *St. Paul Advertiser* of February 20, 1858, gives a full account of a speech delivered by him at a mass meeting on February 15, in which he ably discussed the need of the loan. A newspaper writer later declared that to Taylor's pen "was due the most impressive of the appeals to the public in behalf of the famous five million loan amendment of the constitution."[2]

During this period Taylor was active in local political affairs. He was especially interested in questions relating to the formation of the constitution of the state of Minnesota. The election of delegates to the constitutional convention was set for June 1, 1857. It was preceded by an exciting canvass, in which Taylor took an active part, though not from a partisan standpoint. "He has no other motive," declared a newspaper editor of the time, "than to advance the cause of Constitutional Reform."[3] The ideas advanced by Taylor are of considerable interest. In a speech delivered on May 22, 1857, he stated his chief constitutional theories. These were summed up by the same editorial writer as follows:

[1] William W. Folwell, "The Five Million Loan" in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 15: 189–214.

[2] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893.

[3] *St. Paul Advertiser,* May 30, 1857.

He argued in favor of the following restraints upon the law-making power, however constituted; that no bill should pass unless a majority of *all* the members, not merely of the quorum in attendance, recorded their names in its favor; that the whole system of special incorporations should be abandoned, these associations whenever authorized, to be organizations under general laws; that no banking system should ever be established without the fullest guaranties for perpetual specie payments; that free schools should be a permanent policy, and all school funds made irreducible, but with no attempt in the Constitution to withhold the school lands from sale; that legislative sessions should be annual, but limited in duration; that the Constitution should contain a perpetual prohibition of public debt in all forms, and that great facility for future amendments should be engrafted upon the instrument.

Taylor advocated a concentration of power in the executive, making him auditor of the state, as well as governor, for a term of four years, with a provision that the legislature "might pass a vote declaring their want of confidence in the executive, the effect of which should be to submit the question at the next general election, whether he should longer be Governor"—a form of the recall for which Taylor could not get much support. The same writer in the *Advertiser,* in speaking of Taylor's address, said, "We are informed that Mr. Taylor, in the intervals of business engagements, will address the citizens at the prominent points of the Territory prior to and during the session of the Constitutional Convention."[1]

[1] *St. Paul Advertiser,* May 30, 1857. There is also an editorial of two columns on "Mr. Taylor's Constitutional Scheme" in the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* May 24, 1857. Special stress was also placed by Taylor "upon the duty of retaining the present generous policy of Minnesota towards European emigration."

Taylor took an active part in the canvass of 1858 for the election of Governor Sibley (Taylor to Kelly, July 6, 1885). At the state convention of Breckinridge Democrats, held in St. Paul, September 13, 1860, Taylor was appointed permanent secretary, and received, along with Judge A. J. Edgerton of Dodge County, the nomination for Congress (*St. Paul Daily Times,* September 14, 1860). In the subsequent election he received only 768 out of a total of 70,346 votes cast (Minnesota, Secretary of State, *Annual Reports,* 1861, p. 13). It is evident

While prospects for the railway line to the international boundary were discouraging, suddenly and most fortunately "gold broke out" on Frazer River, near the interlocking sources of the North Saskatchewan. Quick results followed. Most important was the announcement by Bulwer-Lytton of the policy of continuous colonies from Lake Superior to the Pacific, and the suggestion of a road across British America as "the most direct route from London to Pekin or Jeddo." In the Northwest this discovery of gold gave impetus to the movement for a railway to Selkirk and Saskatchewan.

On December 7, 1858, the common council of the city of St. Paul adopted a resolution requesting James W. Taylor to present a report to them upon the settlement of areas northwest of Minnesota, and the extension of steam, railroad, and telegraph communications westward from the navigable waters of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, with the relations of Minnesota to the American and Asiatic coasts of the Pacific Ocean. The resolution pointed out that communications with the North Pacific between north latitudes forty-five and fifty-five must inevitably draw the trade of China, Japan, and Asiatic Russia along the line of the Great Lakes to the centers of European

that his political position during this period was changing and indefinite. The editorials which he published in the *St. Paul Daily Press* in 1861 (see below p. 184) show complete agreement with the attitude of the Republican administration toward slavery; and he retained his position as special agent of the treasury department under this administration. One writer says, indeed, "At the outbreak of the war in 1861 he naturally drifted into the Republican party" (*Cincinnati Commercial,* June 27, 1881). Taylor himself wrote in 1885: "I have never regarded myself as other than a Democrat of the school of New York. . . . As a war Democrat in 1861 and subsequently, my political position was somewhat indefinite, but on the questions of currency and trade I adhere to the traditions of Jackson Democracy" (Taylor to Kelly, July 6, 1885). It is perhaps only fair to add that this letter was written acknowledging Mr. Kelly's support in urging Taylor's retention in the Winnipeg consulate at the beginning of the Cleveland administration. The truth of the matter, however, appears to be that Taylor's interest in northwest development and railroad-building completely overshadowed his interest in political issues.

commerce, a movement that would contribute materially to the growth of Minnesota. Mr. Taylor was urged to accompany his report with "such statistics and description of Minnesota and its resources as will encourage emigration to this state."[1] The geographical phases of the subject had already been thoroughly discussed, especially at a meeting on January 3, 1859, held in St. Paul, to consider an overland mail route to Puget Sound,[2] and in the proceedings of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce to promote steamboat navigation on the Red River of the North.[3] Therefore Taylor omitted that phase, and, in his report to the council, presented on March 31, 1859, dealt rather with the legislative and other aspects of the railroad system of the state.[4] The following topics were discussed: organization and progress of the territory of Minnesota; the railroad land grant to the territory and future state of Minnesota; the land grant railroad routes and the action of the Minnesota legislature in relation thereto; the extent of the land grant; the right to sell railroad lands; loan of state credit to railroads by the state of Minnesota; forfeitures; the pledge of net profits to the state; the conveyance to the state of two

[1] St. Paul Common Council, *Proceedings,* 1858–59, p. 157.

[2] The *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* January 5, 1859, prints a memorial to Congress which was drafted by James W. Taylor, petitioning for an overland mail route from St. Paul to Puget Sound. The memorial and resolutions were adopted at the meeting of January 3. In the spring of 1859 Taylor was made resident secretary of the Nobles' expedition for the exploration of the overland route from Minnesota to British Columbia. A geographical report by him on routes between the channels of the Red River of Minnesota and the Frazer River of British Columbia was published in the *St. Paul Daily Times* for April 24, 1859. In the same paper, May 17, 1859, he had an article on "Exploration of Central British America."

[3] See William R. Marshall's introduction to *Railroad System of the State of Minnesota with Its Railroad, Telegraphic, and Postal Connections,* 3 (St. Paul, Pioneer Printing Company, 1859).

[4] *Railroad System of the State of Minnesota with Its Connections* (St. Paul, George W. Moore, *Minnesotian* office, 1859). Taylor's report was also published as an appendix to St. Paul Common Council, *Proceedings,* 1858–59, and it appeared in the *St. Paul Daily Times,* April 3, 5, 6, and 7, 1859, and in the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* April 5, 1859.

hundred and forty sections of land; the transfer of first mortgage bonds; further regulations for the payment of interest; general topics; the external relations of the Minnesota railroad system. Taylor also prepared an elaborate map, upon which he designated two proposed transcontinental routes: one through British Columbia and the valley of the South Saskatchewan to Pembina, there connecting with the branch line of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad; and the other, on American territory, to Breckenridge, the western terminus of the main line of the Minnesota and Pacific.[1]

The interest in the Frazer River continued. The reconstruction and launching of the "Anson Northup" occurred in the spring of 1859. The steamer had been transported up the Crow Wing River by Mr. Northup, there taken to pieces and drawn by horses and oxen to Ottertail Lake, and thence westward to the point on the Red River opposite the mouth of the Cheyenne. In reconstructing the boat, Mr. Northup received aid from the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. A journalist, writing in *Harper's Magazine,* said: "The success of the boat works a revolution in the Company's business.[2] Hereafter the annual outfit and returns will pass through the United States, instead of by the difficult and circuitous passage of Hudson's Bay, to York and Moose Factories."[3] With the extension of a stage line from St. Cloud to Abercrombie, connections with St. Paul were made. For the people of Selkirk this was an important event. In one of his reports Taylor wrote: "The people of Selkirk fully appreciate the advantages of communication with the Mississippi River and Lake Superior through the State of Minnesota. They are anxious for the utmost facilities of trade and intercourse. The navigation of the Red

[1] *Railroad System of the State of Minnesota,* sec. 13.

[2] Hudson's Bay Company.

[3] Manton Marble, "To Red River and Beyond," in *Harper's Magazine,* 21: 307 (August, 1860). An account of the "Anson Northup" is also to be found in Alvin H. Wilcox, *Pioneer History of Becker County, Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1907). The account (p. 218) is written by R. M. Probsfield.

River by a steamboat during the summer of 1859, was universally recognized as marking a new era in their annals. This public sentiment was pithily expressed by the remark: 'In 1851, the Governor of Minnesota visited us; in 1859 comes a Steamboat, and ten years more will bring the Railroad!' "[1]

In this connection it is of considerable interest to note a statement by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a prominent member of the Canadian parliament. Referring to the Red River settlement, he said:

> No American community has ever undergone a sterner apprenticeship to fortune, or been so unwisely underrated by imperial and Canadian statesmen. The greater part, if not all that region was an integral part of Canada at the conquest, and to Canada the people of the Selkirk settlement most naturally looked for protection against the monopolizing policy of the Hudson Bay Company. It is not creditable to us to be forced to admit that hitherto they have looked this way in vain. No Canadian can have read with satisfaction the latest intelligence from that kindred community; no Canadian can learn with satisfaction that it was left for the infant State of Minnesota, with a census not exceeding altogether this little island of Montreal, to do for them what they naturally expected from us; that while we were interrogating our ministers as to their policy on the Hudson Bay question the Americans from St. Paul were steaming down to Fort Garry. It is not the first time that we have received a lesson in enterprise from our republican neighbors. To be our leaders on our own soil, though creditable to them, is surely not in this case particularly honorable to us.[2]

On June 18, 1859, Governor Sibley of Minnesota requested Taylor, in the course of a visit to Selkirk settlement, to obtain "reliable information relative to the physical aspects and other facts connected with the British possessions on the line of the Overland Route from Pembina *via* the Red River Settlement

[1] *Northwest British America and Its Relations to the State of Minnesota,* 5 (St. Paul, 1860).

[2] Quoted in a letter from Taylor to Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, July 10, 1861. 37 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 10, no. 146, p. 19 (serial 1138).

and the Saskatchewan valley to Frazer's River," and to present it to the governor in a form suitable for submission to the legislature. He was also commissioned to convey congratulations to William McTavish, the Hudson's Bay Company's governor at Fort Garry.[1] The trip was made, and on March 2, 1860, the successor of Governor Sibley, Alexander Ramsey, communicated to the house of representatives a report by Taylor on *Northwest British America and Its Relations to the State of Minnesota.* In presenting this report, Governor Ramsey wrote: "The accompanying report relates to matters which are not merely a subject of interesting enquiry to all, but which concern, in a great degree, the future growth and development of our State, and to which the attention of Statesmen, both of this country and of England, is already considerably directed."[2] The report pointed out the agricultural possibilities of the territory west and northwest of the Red River, and, discussing political matters, urged, as an accompaniment to the then imminent extension of the British colonial system, the extension of the reciprocity treaty to the Pacific Ocean, renewed for a long period of years and enlarged in its provisions. Taylor urged in connection with this renewal of reciprocity relations that "all laws discriminating between American and foreign built vessels should be abolished, establishing freedom of navigation on all the intermediate rivers and lakes of the respective Territories." He argued that such a policy of free trade and navigation would give to the United States all the commercial advantages, without the political embarrassments, of annexation. "Who can doubt," he says, "that it would speedily be followed by overland mails and the telegraph on the Pembina and Saskatchewan route, and a Continental railroad, as advocated by Maury, which England would recognize as essential to her interests in Northwest America and the Pacific coasts?"[3] As a general

[1] *Northwest British America,* 5; *Winnipeg Daily Tribune,* December 20, 1890.

[2] Letter of transmittal in *Northwest British America,* 3. See also Minnesota, *House Journal,* 1859–60, p. 644, and appendix, p. 2.

[3] *Northwest British America,* 8.

statement of Taylor's views, the last sentence in his report is significant. He says: "Believing firmly that the prosperity and development of this State is intimately associated with the destiny of Northwest British America, I am gratified to record the rapid concurrence of events which indicate that the frontier, hitherto resting upon the sources of the Saint Lawrence and the Mississippi, is soon to be pushed far beyond the International frontier by the march of Anglo-Saxon civilization."[1]

Special Agent of the Treasury Department, 1859–69

In the spring and summer of 1859 Taylor, with the strong endorsement of Senator Rice, petitioned the president for an appointment as an agent of the government. His object was to proceed to the unorganized territory between Canada and British Columbia, and direct his efforts toward preventing any collision between the Hudson's Bay Company and American parties navigating the Red River or emigrating from Minnesota to the gold districts on Frazer and Thompson rivers; likewise, to investigate, with a view to a report, the revenue and mail service of the United States on or near the frontier between Lake Superior and Puget Sound. Senator Rice pointed out that such an appointment was desirable because of the continuous steamboat navigation which connected the region north of the boundary and east of the Rockies with Minnesota; because an American steamboat would shortly pass into British territory, greatly stimulating trade with Selkirk; and because

[1] The appendices which accompany the report are of considerable interest: Central British America by J. W. Taylor (*Atlantic Monthly*, 5: 103–8—January, 1860); Geographical Memoir of the Red River and Saskatchewan District of British America (extract from a report of a committee of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, January 22, 1859, written by Taylor); Exploration of the Rocky Mountains in British America by Captain Palliser (extract from the address of Sir Roderick I. Murchison at the anniversary meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, May 23, 1859); Itineraries of Routes from St. Paul to Pembina, Fort Garry, Fort Ellice, and Edmonton House (letter to Taylor from Alfred J. Hill, March 1, 1860); Increased Production of Cultivated Plants near the Northernmost Limit of Their Growth (extracts from an

many American emigrants to the Frazer River mines had passed the border. Furthermore, he felt that "the anomalous relations of the Hudson Bay Company to the vast country between Lake Winnipeg and the Mountains rendered it eminently necessary that the Government should be fully advised upon whatever is there transpiring."[1] Taylor was accordingly appointed a special agent of the treasury department by the Buchanan administration, being particularly charged with the investigation of reciprocal relations of trade and transportation between the United States and Canada.[2] With the beginning of the Lincoln administration Taylor's friend, Salmon P. Chase, became secretary of the treasury, and Taylor retained his appointment as special agent until 1869. His activity during a considerable portion of this period was transferred to Washington.

There was in progress at this time a considerable movement for the abrogation of the treaty which had been negotiated with Great Britain, June 5, 1854, commonly known as the reciprocity treaty. Taylor was occupied largely in an investigation of the practical operation of this treaty. On May 2, 1860, he communicated statistics and observations upon that subject to the treasury department. This report, together with that of Israel T. Hatch, was transmitted by the secretary of the treasury to

article upon the "Acclimating Principle of Plants" in the *Monthly American Journal of Geology);* Professor M. F. Maury and Pacific Railroads—The Physical, Commercial, and Military Necessity of Two Railroads, One North and One South (extracts from a letter to D. A. Robertson of St. Paul from M. F. Maury, superintendent of the Observatory at Washington, January 4, 1859, read at a special meeting of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, January 22, 1859); British Columbia (from the correspondence of the *London Times,* dated Victoria, Vancouver's Island, December 9, 1859); Pacific Ocean Telegraph between Northern Asia and America (from an article in the *Atlantic Monthly,* 5: 290–97—March, 1860, upon the "Progress of the Electric Telegraph"; also from the *New York Herald,* February 20, 1860).

[1] Taylor to Buchanan, June 13, 1859. He sums up a communication sent to the president by Senator Rice on May 25, 1859.

[2] Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888; Taylor to H. B. Payne, April 24, 1885. While Taylor's appointment was made in 1859, his services did not actually begin until 1860.

the House of Representatives on June 16, 1860.[1] Hatch declared his conviction that all the benefits of the treaty inured to Canada, and that it was greatly injurious to the United States. He asserted that not only was the treaty unequal and unjust in its operations, containing no element of reciprocity, but that it had actually been violated by Canada. Hatch did, however, endorse the principle of reciprocal free trade as a basis for the international relations of the United States and Canada. Taylor in his report, on the other hand, attempted to vindicate the treaty of 1854 by furnishing a statistical examination into its operations. He believed that the treaty conferred reciprocal benefits on both countries, and that it had not been violated. The general conclusion of Taylor may be put in his own words: "The records of the country, particularly the reports of the Treasury Department, are, without exception, a complete vindication of the treaty of June 5, 1854." "For the present I can safely aver that there is but one sentiment west of Buffalo on the line of the great lakes, and that is hostility to the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty. If any change is demanded it is in a different direction—in favor of its territorial extension to the new province soon to be organized northwest of Minnesota and British Columbia, and of its enlargement, as soon as practicable, so as to merit the designation of a *zollverein* or customs union."[2]

[1] 36 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 13, no. 96 (serial 1057). Taylor's report occupies pages 48–60.

[2] *Ibid.,* 47, 60.

In 1860 the Oswego Board of Trade published an interesting pamphlet entitled *Reciprocity with British North America Vindicated,* a copy of which was found among the pamphlets accompanying the Taylor Papers. A committee had been appointed to investigate the reciprocity treaty, and the pamphlet, which is a report of their examination, is devoted to a refutation of the arguments brought forward by Hatch in the treasury department publication. It says (p. 4): "Your Committee concur in opinion with Mr. Taylor, and hope by a brief, but careful examination of the provisions and working of the Treaty, to establish the fact that its benefits are reciprocal and universal, so far as their operations extend."

Taylor's report of 1860 was preliminary to an elaborate study of *Relations between the United States and Northwest British America,* which was published by order of Congress in 1862. On May 20, 1862, the House of Representatives requested Secretary Chase to communicate information upon this subject, with particular reference to the central district of the Red River of the North and the Saskatchewan. Relations between England and the United States were strained. The Civil War had come, with British sympathy on the side of the South; and it was a grave period in American relations with British North America. The reply of Secretary Chase to the congressional resolution is a compendium of communications from Special Agent Taylor covering the period from July 10, 1861 to June 12, 1862.[1] On July 10, 1861, Taylor wrote to the department (from St. Paul):

> Having reason to believe that what is known to the English and Canadian people as the "Red River and Saskatchewan districts of British America" will be speedily organized, with the powerful co-operation of the Hudson Bay Company, as a crown colony of England, and that active measures for its colonization in the interest of a continental confederation of the provinces, and a railroad from Lake Superior to the Pacific, north of our boundary, will promptly follow, I am solicitous to present to the American government and people a full and satisfactory compilation of the natural resources, present civil and commercial organizations, and future relations of the interesting region in question, with which circumstances have made me familiar. In this connexion, I shall urge that no unnecessary restrictions shall be imposed upon the intercourse, already very considerable in extent, between the States of the northwest and this rising dominion of England upon the waters of Lake Winnipeg.[2]

Included in his report was a compendium of the revenue laws of Assiniboia, passed March 14, 1861; and some account of the operation of the Canadian reciprocity treaty, emphasizing

[1] *Relations between the United States and Northwest British America* (37 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 10, no. 146—serial 1138).

[2] *Ibid.,* 18.

the value and extent of the Canadian market for all forms of American industry, especially manufactures and agriculture. On December 17, 1861, he communicated a dispatch to the department in which he dealt with the "dissatisfaction of the Assiniboians with British inadequacy." How serious this movement was, in Taylor's opinion, is indicated by this statement: "The Americanization of this important section of British America is rapidly progressing. Unless the British Parliament acts promptly—for instance, during the session soon to transpire—I shall confidently expect a popular movement looking to independence or annexation to the United States."[1]

The relations with England had darkened, and it seemed as though war might not be avoided, a prospect that led Taylor to declare to the department the competency of Minnesota to "hold, occupy, and possess" the Red River to Lake Winnipeg.[2] Yet in the same communication Taylor wrote: "The telegrams of this date surprise me in the midst of labors, the object of which was to demonstrate how much the United States and the British districts northwest of Minnesota are identified in geographical situation and material interests of all kinds. To the advancement of the latter I had not deemed annexation essential. By treaty stipulations and concurrent legislation it seemed possible to work out the mutual destiny of the American States and British provinces of the northwest." On June 12, 1862, he again wrote of the general dissatisfaction in the Red River settlement at the neglect of the home government, and indicated, writing of a customs union of British America

[1] *Relations between the United States and Northwest British America,* 43–45.

[2] Taylor's argument was summarized as follows (*ibid.,* 5):

1. The defenceless condition of the valley:
   a. No British troops at Fort Garry;
   b. Indians depredate with impunity;
   c. The "Nor'wester" confesses weakness, demanding a "change" as "absolutely necessary."
2. Hardihood of the lumbermen and laborers of Minnesota.
3. Facilities for military operations:
   a. Accessibility by way of the Minnesota and Pacific railroad route—commonly known as the "Wood Road."

and the United States, that the demand for reciprocity was continental. The *British Colonist* (of Victoria) declared on April 15, 1862: "Any scheme of reciprocity ought to include the whole British territory of the Pacific—even British Siberia."[1]

The tide was running against the reciprocity treaty, however. Taylor continued earnestly to advocate it, urging that enlarged and extended territorially, it should become a permanent continental policy.[2] In 1862 the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce submitted to Congress a memorial, drawn up by Taylor, "remonstrating against any action at the present session of Congress suspending the treaty between the United States and Great Britain of June 5, 1854, commonly known as the Reciprocity Treaty."[3] In this memorial it was admitted that a revision might become necessary, but it was urged that such revision, if unavoidable, should be in the direction of further

[1] *Relations between the United States and Northwest British America,* 43–45. The greater part of this document is devoted to a "Geographical Memoir of Northwest British America, and Its Relations to the Revenue and Commerce of the United States." The closing paragraphs of the memoir are of interest:

> It would be an instance of well-directed legislation for the Congress of the United States and the Parliament of England to unite in a liberal subsidy, say of $200,000 by each government, for the transmission of a weekly mail from the limits of navigation on the Mississippi river and the British coast of Lake Superior by an international route to the centres of the gold districts of British Columbia and Washington Territory.
>
> Similar reciprocity of action has led to unity of interests and sentiments on the opposite coasts of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, itself an effective bond of peace. Why not disarm the whole frontier of the north by constant multiplication of such ties and guarantees of international concord? The preceding exhibit of what nature has proposed in Northwest America is submitted with the hope and confidence that man will dispose of the future relations of adjacent and homogeneous communities upon a firm and lasting basis of mutual interest and good will.

The printed document read "natural interest"; in his copy, found in the Taylor Papers, Taylor has crossed out the word "natural" and inserted "mutual" in the margin.

[2] Taylor to C. J. Brydges, February 2, 1864.

[3] *Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce, St. Paul, Minnesota* (37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Miscellaneous Documents,* no. 26—serial 1124).

freedom of commercial intercourse, not of additional restrictions. It is significant that this memorial was reprinted in the report of the Canadian minister of finance on the reciprocity treaty, a report which also discusses the United States government reports of Hatch and Taylor.[1] Taylor was also in communication with many Canadians on the subject at this time, particularly with the managing director of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, Mr. C. J. Brydges.[2]

A great commercial convention was held in Detroit in July, 1865. To this gathering came representatives from boards of trade and chambers of commerce of the United States and the British North American provinces. The purpose of the conference was to consider such subjects as commerce, finance, communications of transit from the West to the seaboard, and reciprocal trade between the United States and the provinces. James W. Taylor was present at this convention as the representative of the St. Paul Board of Trade. He was made a member of the committee on reciprocity, and a resolution drafted by him was adopted by the committee and presented to the convention. Though approving the notice of termination of the treaty of 1854, it requested that negotiations for a new, enlarged reciprocal commercial intercourse, including British Columbia, the Selkirk settlement, and Vancouver's Island, should be entered upon, asking also for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and other rivers of British North America, and suggesting that improvements of rivers and canals be undertaken adequate to the needs of the West in communicating with the ocean. The resolution precipitated an unusually sharp debate on the question of reciprocity, chief among those opposing it being Hannibal Hamblin. Toward the end of the debate, however, a powerful speech in its favor was delivered by Joseph

[1] Canada, Minister of Finance, *Report on the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States; also The Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Report of Congress, U. S. thereon*, 29–32, 38–40 (Quebec, 1862).

[2] See the correspondence of 1864 in the Taylor Papers.

Howe of Nova Scotia, who later became Canadian secretary of state, and the resolution was unanimously adopted.[1]

The House of Representatives passed a resolution on March 28, 1866, requesting an extensive report on the subject of commercial relations with British America, and James W. Taylor was asked by the secretary of the treasury, now Hugh McCulloch, to prepare it. One feature of this report, which was presented by the secretary on June 12, 1866,[2] attracted widespread attention and drew upon Taylor's head not a little censure. Taylor believed that the destiny of British America was involved in "the extension of an ocean coast to the western limits of the great lakes, and a railway from Halifax to the capital of the confederation, and thence exclusively on the soil of the confederation to the North Pacific coast." Feeling certain that England would assume no material portion of the obligations which such an undertaking would entail (he estimated improvements of the St. Lawrence and Welland canals at twenty million dollars and a St. Lawrence and Pacific railway at a hundred million in addition to liberal land grants), and believing that the federal government of the provinces would "doubtless regard the promised communication between Halifax and Quebec as the utmost possible limit of its railway

[1] *Proceedings of the Commercial Convention Held in Detroit July 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1865*, 8, 31, 98–195 (Detroit, 1865); *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890. The account in the *Tribune* of Taylor's participation in the convention is included in a short sketch of his career, which he had probably revised.

[2] *Commercial Relations with British America* (39 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 128—serial 1263).

An idea of the comprehensiveness of this report may be gained from Taylor's own summary of the subjects treated (p. 2):

1. "The trade of the provinces of British North America, especially Canada, in 1854 and 1865, respectively, the values being estimated in gold, and specifying what proportion of said trade was with the United States, and what articles, if any, were exclusively exported to the United States."
2. A summary of tariff legislation in Canada since 1854.
3. American commerce on the canals of Canada and by the route of the St. Lawrence river.
4. General information in regard to the commercial relations between the United States and British America.

liability, at least for this century," Taylor drew up and presented a proposal for a union of the United States and British America. This proposal was formulated as a bill entitled "An Act for the admission of the States of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East, and Canada West, and for the organization of the Territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia." The bill was, to use Taylor's own words, "analagous to the Resolution admitting Texas as a state and rested upon the constitutional authority of Congress to admit new states."[1] The conditions of the admission of the Canadian states were set forth in twelve articles, which were very complete in their details. Provision was made for territorial divisions, representation, the public debts, and the form of government. The most interesting articles, however, were those providing for the immediate construction of an international railway, and making liberal allowances for the improvement of watercourses. Article 11 proposed a payment by the United States of ten million dollars to the Hudson's Bay Company "in full discharge of all claims to territory or jurisdiction in North America." The concluding statement of the report is of considerable interest:

> I will not extend this paper by any presentation of what I regard as the great preponderance of benefit to the people of the provinces. I only reiterate that they have a right to demand of their present rulers two great objects, a Mediterranean to Superior, and a railway to the Pacific ocean, and these before 1880; and I cannot believe these objects will be assured to this generation by a provincial confederation, or by the intervention of England. The United States may interpose, with the requisite guarantees; and if so, why shall we not combine to extend an American Union to the Arctic circle?

The chairman of the committee upon foreign relations in the House of Representatives, General N. P. Banks, made the proposition his own, and submitted it to the House. Because of demonstrations against the measure in Canada, it was thought expedient, after consultation with the secretary of state and

[1] Taylor to the Speaker of the House, n.d. (after January 12, 1871).

members of Congress, not to press the consideration of the bill. Reverting to the nature of the proposition in a speech before the National Board of Trade at Richmond in 1869, Taylor characterized it as "not the *annexation* of Canada to the United States,—the term is offensive,—but such a free and voluntary union between these people of the Northland of the continent and ourselves, as we entered into with the Republic of Texas, or as was effected in 1787 between the Independent Colonies which now compose the United States."[1] A writer in a Winnipeg newspaper said of the proposal, that "although unacceptable to Canada even more than to England, yet it proved a powerful motor in advancing Confederation and assuring the marvellous achievement of a Canadian inter-oceanic communication."[2] As an indication of the shaping of sentiment at Washington, it is not unlikely that the proposal, coming shortly after the abrogation of the treaty of 1854, had some influence.[3] Taylor did not soon give up his idea. On November 23, 1867, he wrote a long letter to Mr. Edward Cooper, urging the proposition. In this letter he declared that he had suggested to President Johnson the advisability of calling the attention of Congress to the measure in his message, believing that

[1] National Board of Trade, *Proceedings,* 1869, p. 139. The bill was introduced in the House by General Banks on July 2, 1866. 39 Congress, 1 session, *House Journal,* 945 (serial 1243).

[2] *Winnipeg Daily Tribune,* December 20, 1890.

[3] The treaty came to an end in April, 1866. See statement in Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule,* 303. For an extremely violent commentary on the introduction of this bill in Congress, see Sir Edward W. Watkin, *Canada and the States: Recollections, 1851 to 1866,* 227–47 (London, 1887). The author prints Taylor's bill in full, introducing it in the following gentle manner: "Here is this insulting document printed verbatim. I challenge the quotation of any similar outrage on the part of any civilized nation at peace with the Empire attacked" (p. 228). Had a similar bill, as applied to the Southern States, been introduced in the British House of Commons, Sir Edward declares that the United States ambassador to the court of St. James would have been promptly recalled (p. 227). He prints the bill as an illustration of the "consequences of vacillation and delay in the vigorous government of the Hudson's Bay territory, and in all distant parts of the Empire" (p. 227).

such an action would give an impulse to the movement "which might mark an epoch in our manifest continental destiny."[1]

A request of Congress in July, 1866, for the collection, by the secretary of the treasury, of "reliable statistical information concerning the gold and silver mines of the western States and Territories" was referred by Mr. McCulloch to J. Ross Browne, for the districts west of the Rocky Mountains, and to James W. Taylor, for the districts east of the Rockies.[2] The services rendered by Taylor in the course of this investigation were important, particularly in connection with the framing of the Mineral Land Act. In a private letter Taylor wrote:

Near the close of the war there was a proposition to raise revenue from a sale of the mineral lands—especially in the gold districts of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast. For seventeen years the gold and silver mines, with towns, cities, and ranches, had been developed on government lands—absolutely a trespass. Public sales were proposed on elaborate bills from the Finance Committees—by John Sherman in the Senate and George W. Julian in the House. Great excitement ensued in the mining states and territories. Mr. Chase placed me in communication with the Congressional representatives from the Pacific Coast and my draft of a "Mineral Lands Preemption Act" reconciled all interests. It was finally passed in 1866, and is the basis of title and occupation in all the mining districts of the country.[3]

Writing of the results of this act, he said, in his report to the secretary of the treasury:

By that act, freedom of exploration, free occupation of government lands for placer mining, a right to pre-empt quartz lodes previously held and improved according to local customs or codes of mining, the right of way for aqueducts or canals, not less essential to agriculture than to mining, and the extension of the homestead and other beneficient provisions of the public land system in favor of settlers upon agricultural lands in mineral districts,

[1] See below, p. 196.

[2] J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor, *Reports upon the Mineral Resources of the United States*, 3, 323 (Washington, 1867).

[3] Taylor to A. B. Nettleton, April 15, 1883; also Taylor to Alexander Ramsey, June 14, 1869.

have been established as most important elements for the attraction of population and the encouragement of mining enterprises.[1]

The report prepared by Taylor was submitted to the secretary on February 8, 1867 (from St. Paul). It included information in regard to the production of gold and silver in the territories of New Mexico, Colorado, and Montana, in the Vermillion district of Minnesota, and upon the eastern slope of the Alleghany range in the states of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. It also referred to discoveries of gold in New Hampshire, Nova Scotia, and Canada. The second and third parts of the report are characteristic of Taylor's chief interest. They present a general review of the production of gold and silver in other portions of the world for the purpose of showing relatively the commercial and social importance of the treasure product of the United States; and a summary of the domestic commerce from the Missouri River westward to the interior or mining districts, with prospects of railway communication with the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast. "There are two indispensable requisites to the development of the western mines," said Taylor, "security from Indian hostilities, and the establishment of railway communication to the Pacific coast on the parallels of 35°, 40°, and 45°."[2]

[1] Browne and Taylor, *Mineral Resources of the United States,* 350.

[2] *Ibid.,* 324–50. Taylor's report was also printed separately as *Gold Mines East of the Rocky Mountains* (39 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 92—serial 1293).

The following year, 1868, Taylor's report, considerably expanded in form, and changed in name to *The Mineral Resources of the United States East of the Rocky Mountains,* was submitted again to the secretary of the treasury and to the House of Representatives (40 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 273—serial 1343). Browne's report was likewise expanded and printed as 40 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 202 (serial 1342). The two reports, with separate title pages and pagination, were also published in one volume as *Reports on the Mineral Resources of the United States* (Washington, 1868).

Miscellaneous Activities, 1860–69

During the period 1860–69 Taylor engaged in a number of activities outside the sphere of his duties as special agent of the treasury department. He was a frequent contributor of articles to newspapers, being for a time officially connected with the *St. Paul Daily Press.*[1] In October, 1862, he contributed a series of papers to the *Press,* which were reprinted as a pamphlet entitled *The Sioux War: What shall We Do with It? The Sioux Indians: What shall We Do with Them?* He urged a vigorous offensive movement against the Sioux Indians, especially demanding the total expulsion of the Sioux and Winnebagoes from the state. Answering his second question, he proposed that Isle Royale, in Lake Superior, be made a penal Indian colony for the "confinement of all the Indian remnants of the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and of the entire Sioux nation, wherever scattered in the Territory of Dakota."[2] Another pamphlet by Taylor relating to the Indian question, entitled *The Sioux War; What has been Done by the Minnesota Campaign of 1863; What should be Done during a Dakota Campaign of 1864,* was published in 1863. It was a reprint of papers contributed to the *Press* during August and September of that year. At the conclusion of this pamphlet he submitted a memorial to the national authorities, executive and legislative, in which the policies he advocated were embodied. These policies, which are of considerable interest and significance, may be stated briefly as follows: a vigorous prosecution of the campaign in the territory between Minnesota and

[1] "Soon after the civil war broke out he [Taylor] was employed for a short time as editor of the St. Paul Press. . . . His editorials were marked by an earnest patriotism, which was in accord with the public feeling." *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893.

[2] The divisions of the pamphlet form an outline of his argument. They are as follows: Is the war ended? The numbers and situation of the enemy; General Warren's views of a Sioux campaign; the removal of the Indians from the state; where shall the Minnesota Indians go? Isle Royale, in Lake Superior, as a penal Indian colony; the attractions of Isle Royale; a petition to the general government; an appeal to the Christian public.

the Rocky Mountains; the negotiation of a treaty with the Sioux Indians opening the Black Hills to the people of Dakota; the extension of Noble's wagon road from Fort Pierre westward to connect with Mullen's military road from Fort Benton to Walla Walla; the passage of Senator Doolittle's North Pacific railroad bill; the division of the territory of Idaho, the part east of the mountains to be known as Upsaroka; the establishment of a military post at the head of steamboat navigation on the Yellowstone River; and military colonization of the mountain districts by the soldiery on the termination of the Civil War.

Another series of *Press* articles, contributed during the month ending December 15, 1861, were gathered together and published in pamphlet form in 1862 under the title *Alleghania: A Geographical and Statistical Memoir Exhibiting the Strength of the Union, and the Weakness of Slavery, in the Mountain Districts of the South.* In them Taylor urged "immediate and effective support by a powerful military demonstration similar to Sherman's celebrated march to the sea in the latter stages of hostilities."[1] He believed that the key to the speedy and permanent restoration of the Republic was "counter-revolution" and he sought, by a careful geographical and statistical study, to show that the nation held

> within the limits of the insurgent States, very important elements and instruments for a Counter Revolution of those States. The "Back Country," or Alleghany Districts of the States East of the Mississippi, the French and Creole population of Louisiana, and the German or grazing counties of Western Texas, will pronounce for the Union whenever the Army and Navy of the United States shall afford the protection against insurrection and the guaranty of Republican institutions which the Constitution enjoins upon the General Government. In those localities and in the dispositions of the inhabitants, the Rebellion has no firm foundation. On the contrary, they are ripe and ready to follow the instructive precedent established in West Virginia.[2]

[1] *Winnipeg Daily Tribune,* December 20, 1890.
[2] *Alleghania,* vi.

Taylor had been interested in schools in Ohio to a considerable extent. In Minnesota he served on the board of directors of the state normal school at the organization of that work and for several years subsequently. At a meeting of the normal board, August 16, 1859, Taylor was appointed one of a committee of three to attend the next meeting of the legislature and "secure such legislative aid as may be necessary to establish successfully this State Normal School."[1] The reports for the first few years following show that Taylor took a prominent part in the work of the normal directors. On June 28, 1861, at a meeting of the board in Winona, it was resolved, upon motion by James W. Taylor, that "the Prudential Committee is hereby authorized and directed to negotiate with the city authorities of Winona, and if by a disbursement of $5,000, in connection with city aid, a suitable building for the use of the normal school, and a city model school can be constructed, then to proceed immediately with the construction of the same; and the sum of $5,000 is hereby appropriated for the purposes aforesaid."[2] Taylor was present at the opening of the normal school at Winona in 1860, and made an address at a meeting which came together to consider the organization of a teachers' institute. "He went into a general review of the Teachers' Institutes, to show their importance as a means of awakening public interest and directing it toward the school system. He alluded to their success in the older States, and in Ohio, especially." His advocacy brought out considerable criticism, one gentleman, Mr. Burt, of the prudential committee, urging that Taylor made institutes too prominent a feature. Mr. Burt argued that a normal school would "remove the necessity of a Teachers' Institute."[3]

Taylor was interested in the work of the Minnesota Historical Society, having become an active member on May 6, 1858.

[1] Minnesota, State Normal School, *First Annual Report of the Board of Directors;* 4 (St. Paul, 1860).

[2] Minnesota, State Normal Board, *Annual Reports,* 1862, p. 17.

[3] *Addresses Delivered at the Opening of the State Normal School, Winona, Minnesota,* 45 (St. Paul, 1860).

He served as a vice-president of the society 1860–64, was a member of the executive council 1870–73, and was a corresponding member from 1885 until his death in 1893.[1] In this connection it is interesting to note that in 1860, on the occasion of Governor W. H. Seward's visit to St. Paul, an interview between him and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Reverend David Anderson, at the rooms of the historical society, was arranged by Taylor.[2] The speeches of the two men, especially that of the bishop, attracted considerable notice. Describing this interview, a writer in a Winnipeg paper later said that the speeches were

> read, marked and inwardly digested by the press and politicians of Canada. Bishop Anderson and a large majority of the Selkirk settlers memorialized for a crown colony like British Columbia, and the astute statesmen at Toronto and Quebec (Parliament meeting concurrently at these capitals) and business men of Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton determined that Canada must assume a vigorous continental policy, securing a West of "illimitable possibilities" and that every necessary concession must be made to break up the alliance of the Hudson's Bay Company with Minnesota projectors, or at least, by political and commercial co-operation to bring Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia into combinations equally close with the Eastern Provinces.[3]

About 1867 the name of Taylor was presented to the directors of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company for the office of secretary. Although he was well supported in this application, he failed to obtain the appointment. He did, however, secure a connection with the Northern Pacific by which he represented its interests at commercial conventions held in Boston, Portland, and Cincinnati.[4]

[1] Minnesota Historical Society Manuscript Records, 1850–66, May 6, 1858, March 5, 1860, February 19, 1864; 1870–73, pp. 5, 231–35; Minnesota Historical Society, *Annual Reports*, 1869, p. 2; 1870, p. 2; 1871, p. 2; *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5: 513.

[2] A complete account of this interview appeared in the *St. Paul Daily Press*, January 30, 1862, which, though unsigned, was undoubtedly written by Taylor. See *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 57.

[3] *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

[4] Taylor to William Windom, July 20, 1869.

It was Taylor's desire, after his relations with the treasury department had been severed, to draw up a final report embodying all the subjects which he had investigated, and particularly the relations of the revenue service to Northwest British America, and the situation on the northern Minnesota frontier in connection with the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Territory to Canada.[1] The matter was taken up by Alexander Ramsey, but no appointment was forthcoming at the time.

The year 1869 was one of great activity for Taylor. No longer connected with the treasury department at Washington, he felt free to have his services employed in connection with western railway enterprises. In the spring of 1869 he was in communication with Jay Cooke, the financier, and in June of that year, on the recommendation of the latter, he was appointed an agent of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company, under agreement to devote one fourth of his time to that organization. About the same time he entered into a similar engagement with the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company. His duties were to contribute articles to the press of the United States and Canada, and to aid, in so far as he was able, in connection with bills before Congress. The main topics on which he wrote were the Pacific lines of railroad, western immigration, and relations with British America. Taylor had become an authority on these questions, and as he wrote for papers of large circulation and influence, it is reasonable to believe that he exerted considerable influence on public sentiment. He commenced with a series of publications in the *Chicago Tribune,* the *Toronto Globe,* and the *New York Tribune.* The list was soon extended to include the *Philadelphia Press* and the *New York Times,* besides the St. Paul papers, the *Winnipeg Tribune,* and other western papers. His articles were widely copied in America and England.[2]

In December, 1869, Taylor represented the St. Paul Cham-

[1] Taylor to Ramsey, June 14, 1869.

[2] Taylor to W. B. Ogden, June 12, 1869; to Horace White, September 18, 1869; to F. H. Clarke, January 12, 1871.

ber of Commerce at the second annual meeting of the National Board of Trade, held at Richmond, and was elected a vice-president and member of the executive council of that body for 1870.[1] He took a prominent part in its proceedings, serving on several important committees,[2] and delivering several addresses, particularly one on internal improvements.[3]

The Red River Rebellion of 1869–70

On June 14, 1869, Taylor, having learned of the form of the provisional government which Canada proposed for the Selkirk and Saskatchewan districts, and feeling certain that it would prove unsatisfactory to the people of the districts, wrote to Alexander Ramsey asking him to use his influence in securing a commission from the state department for Taylor by which his services could be used in connection with the Northwest question.[4] In the latter part of 1869 a series of events occurred which culminated in the first so-called "Riel Rebellion," and which incidentally led to the appointment of James W. Taylor as a secret agent of the state department at Washington.

The Hudson's Bay Company, by an agreement made in 1868 with a Canadian delegation consisting of Sir George Cartier and William McDougall, had agreed to give over their domain to the Canadian government upon the payment of three hundred thousand pounds, and the reservation of certain lands and rights for the company. The Canadian parliament gave its assent to these terms in 1869, and made provisions for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory when it should be transferred to Canada. In the fall of that year William McDougall was made lieutenant-governor

[1] National Board of Trade, *Proceedings,* 1869, p. xiii (Boston, 1870).

[2] Committee on trade statistics and reports (*ibid.*, 19); committee to wait on the governor of Virginia (*ibid.*, 49); committee on uniform conveyances of land (*ibid.*,). He served also as a member of the committee upon water communications between the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic Coast (Taylor to J. J. Porter, October 26, 1869).

[3] National Board of Trade, *Proceedings,* 1869, pp. 87–91.

[4] Taylor to Ramsey, June 14, 1869.

with the understanding that he was to assume his official position on the legal transfer of the territory.[1] The population of the district comprising the province of Manitoba consisted at this time of from twelve to fourteen thousand inhabitants. Oscar Malmros, consul of the United States at Winnipeg, in a letter to the secretary of state at Washington declared that of this number one half were French half-breeds, belonging to the Catholic Church, and the other half were descendants of Scotchmen, English half-breeds, and a few Americans.[2] These people had been living under the government of the Hudson's Bay Company, at the head of whose governing body, the Council of Assiniboia, was William McTavish.[3] In September, 1869, McDougall left for Fort Garry.[4] On September 11 Mr. Malmros wrote to the state department: "The mass of the settlers are strongly inclined, however, to get up a riot to expel the new governor on his arrival here about the 15th of October."[5] The causes of the discontent were complex, and can not be discussed fully in this biography. Sir John G. Bourinot writes:

> The cause of the troubles is to be traced not simply to the apathy of the Hudson's Bay Company's officials, who took no steps to prepare the settlers for the change of government, nor to the fact that the Canadian authorities neglected to consult the wishes of the inhabitants, but chiefly to the belief that prevailed among the ignorant French half-breeds that it was proposed to take their lands from them. Sir John Macdonald admitted, at a later time, that much of the trouble arose "from a lack of concilia-

[1] Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule,* 227. See John Lewis, "The New Dominion" in Shortt and Doughty, *Canada and Its Provinces,* 6: 31–45, for an account of the Red River Rebellion.

[2] Malmros to J. C. B. Davis, acting secretary of state, September 11, 1869, in 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 33, p. 2 (serial 1405). See also Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces,* 6: 32; Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule,* 228; Taylor to Hamilton Fish, January 20, 1870, in 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 33, p. 19.

[3] Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces,* 6: 32.

[4] Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule,* 227.

[5] 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 33, p. 3.

tion, tact and prudence shown by the surveyors during the summer of 1869." Mr. Macdougall also appears to have disobeyed his instructions, for he attempted to set up his government by a *coup-de-main* on the 1st December, though he had no official information of the transfer of the country to Canada, and was not legally entitled to perform a single official act.[1]

Another historian writes:

The British North America Act provided means for the admission into the union of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, and in the first session of the new parliament resolutions were adopted asking that the power should be exercised. In view of the difficulty which afterwards arose, it should be noted that these resolutions evinced an inclination to deal fairly with the people of the West. They were to have political institutions bearing analogy, as far as circumstances would admit, to those which existed in the provinces of the Dominion. Similar good intentions were shown in the agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, which provided that the rights of Indians and half-breeds should be respected, and in the instructions given by Howe as secretary of state to William McDougall, when the latter was appointed lieutenant-governor of the new country.[2]

Yet a little later, the same writer declares, in speaking of the negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company:

The prime mistake was that while these negotiations were being carried on with the company in England, no one was treating with the inhabitants of the country. Their consent to the momentous change was taken for granted. Again, an act for the temporary government of the country, passed by the parliament of Canada in 1869, was criticized because it did not recognize the political rights of the people and their right to a voice in the formation of the government. That this charge was well founded was afterwards admitted by William McDougall, one of the chief actors in the drama.[3]

An interesting point for investigation is the part played in connection with these disturbances by American influence. So

[1] *Canada under British Rule*, 227.
[2] Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 31.
[3] *Ibid.*, 32.

early as March 6, 1868, the legislature of the state of Minnesota, in a memorial to the president and Congress of the United States, declared:

We regret to be informed of a purpose to transfer the territories between Minnesota and Alaska to the Dominion of Canada, by an order in council at London, without a vote of the people of Selkirk and the settlers upon the sources of the Saskatchewan River, who largely consist of emigrants from the United States; and we would respectfully urge that the President and Congress of the United States shall represent to the government of Great Britain that such action will be an unwarrantable interference with the principle of self-government, and cannot be regarded with indifference by the people of the United States.[1]

A declaration by the *New York Times* is of interest:

A mistake will be committed if, in considering the causes and scope of the insurrection, some allowance be not made for the variety and strength of the American influences which have long been in operation in the Red River region. Separated from Canada by a vast wilderness of rock and swamp, the inhabitants of the Territory have no communication with the outer world, save through the United States. They have been accustomed to carry their products to St. Paul for sale, and have derived thence their supplies. Their country was all but inaccessible until Minnesota enterprise established the means of communication. Minnesotians gave them stage coaches and a steamboat, with their attendant mail and commercial facilities;[2] and the marvelous progress of the Minnesota railroad system holds out to them prospects of cheap and rapid intercourse with the market on which they mainly depend. All these are powerful agencies in Americanizing the people. They know Canada only as a far-off

[1] Quoted in a letter from Taylor to Fish, January 20, 1870, included in President Grant's message to the Senate, February 2, 1870, in 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33, p. 24. Taylor discusses the relations of Minnesota and the United States to the whole situation.

[2] In 1864 a United States government report estimated the imports of Central British America, for the use of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Selkirk settlers, at a value of five hundred thousand dollars annually, and the average annual exports at not less than one million dollars. *Ibid.*, 23.

country, which has never done anything for their benefit, and which proposes to make a purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's possessions a pretext for inflicting upon them an authority having no sympathy with their wants or wishes. On the other hand, they know Americans as their neighbors and friends, as their co-workers and customers, with whom they are identified in all that relates to the future of the Northwest.[1]

The general outlines of the story of the rebellion are well known. McDougall, traveling to assume his governing duties, went by way of St. Paul, and on the route from St. Paul to Pembina was told of hostile actions by the Métis. At Pembina a half-breed gave the governor formal notice not to enter the territory. McDougall ignored this warning and continued on to the Hudson's Bay post, two miles from the American border. On November 2 a body of insurgents, armed and mounted, surrounded Fort Pembina, and ordered McDougall to recross the boundary. Having no adequate means of resistance, he was forced to return. On the same day the insurgents took Fort Garry. When Sir John Macdonald learned of the situation on the Red River he

determined not to accept from the Hudson's Bay Company the territory in its disturbed state, held back the payment of the money due to the company, notified the British authorities of what he proposed, and warned McDougall not to try to force his way into the country, nor to assume the functions of government prematurely. Such an assumption, he said, would put an end to the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company. Then, if McDougall were not admitted, there would be no legal government, and anarchy must follow. . . . The warning was given too late. The letter was written nearly a month after Riel[2] was in possession of Fort Garry and only a few days before December 1, when McDougall supposed that the transfer would take effect.[3]

The story of the government set up by Louis Riel, the young leader of the insurrection, can not be detailed here. Suffice it

[1] 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 33, p. 41.
[2] The leader and most interesting personality of the rebellion.
[3] Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces,* 6: 35.

to say that a provisional government was established, a popular convention was summoned, the authority of Governor McTavish broken down, and a formal declaration of independence of Canada was made. On the first of December McDougall issued two proclamations, one giving notice of his assumption of the office of lieutenant-governor of the northwest territories, the other conferring upon his lieutenant, John Dennis, authority "to raise, organize, arm, equip, and provision a sufficient force within the said Territories, and with the said force to attack, arrest, disarm, or disperse" the insurgents. Extremely arbitrary powers were given him to enable him to carry out these instructions. The campaign failed signally, the Canadians in Winnipeg were captured, Dennis was forced to flee to Pembina, Louis Riel and his associates received almost complete support in their government, and, after lingering until the eighteenth of December, the would-be governor, McDougall, gave up and left for Canada.[1]

The American state department was watching the situation with keen interest. On December 30, 1869, a secret commission, signed by Hamilton Fish, secretary of state, was issued to James W. Taylor, appointing him special agent of the state department for a period of six months, with instructions to investigate and report upon the following subjects:

1. Full details of the revolt of the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement against the Canadian Confederation and the expulsion of Honorable William McDougall on his way to assume the office of governor.
2. The geographical features and commercial affinities of the Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia districts.
3. The character and disposition of the population.
4. Existing routes of communication from Canada and the United States, and what changes or improvements in this respect are proposed.
5. The political relations of the several British possessions between Minnesota and Alaska.

[1] *Ibid.*, 35–37; Taylor to Fish in 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 33, pp. 18, 26–29.

6. The general question of commercial and political relations between the United States and Canada.

7. The political relations between the Dominion of Canada and the several states and provinces composing it.[1]

Taylor accepted the commission and made an investigation of the situation north of the boundary. As a part of his services in this connection he was at Ottawa during the discussions which preceded the organization of the province of Manitoba in 1870,[2] and informed the state department fully of events connected therewith.[3] On December 8, 1869, the Senate of the United States had passed a resolution requesting the president to communicate information to them "relating to the presence of honorable William McDougall at Pembina, in Dakota Territory, and the opposition by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement to his assumption of the office of governor of the Northwest Territory." On February 2, 1870, President Grant, in compliance with this resolution, submitted a message dealing with the matter, the main part of which was a comprehensive letter from James W. Taylor to the secretary of state, dated January 20, 1870, with a large number of inclosures consisting of documents relating to the insurrection.[4] All of these official actions are significant of the attitude of mind at Washington.

In connection with Taylor's services as agent there is an interesting point brought out with reference to Louis Riel. The delegates sent by Riel to Ottawa were treated as authorized representatives of the people of the Northwest. In the recently published *Canada and Its Provinces,* John Lewis writes: "Richot and Scott [the delegates] afterwards claimed

[1] Fish to Taylor, December 30, 1869.

[2] Taylor to James D. Porter, assistant secretary of state, November 3, 1885.

[3] Taylor to Jay Cooke, November 22, 1871.

[4] 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 33. This document is an exceedingly valuable source of information on the Red River Rebellion. Taylor's appointment was for six months, but his communications after January 20 (which were many) have never been published.

that . . . an amnesty was promised to Riel, but this was denied by Macdonald and Cartier. The government took the ground that they had no power to grant an amnesty, or to deal with the crime at all,[1] because it had been committed in a territory which was not then part of Canada."[2] In 1885, at the time of the second Riel Rebellion, Taylor wrote to the state department at Washington:

I held a commission as Special Agent of the State Department to report upon all the circumstances connected with the Red River insurrection of 1869–70. I was at Ottawa during the discussions which preceded the organization of the Province of Manitoba. There was present a delegation from Red River, appointed by a Convention of the people called with the concurrence of all parties—especially the English and Canadian governments—and both to them and to Archbishop Tache, a pledge of unqualified amnesty, distinctly including Louis Riel was given and communicated to the Provisional Government at Fort Garry.[3]

Conditions in the Red River settlement were soon altered. Donald Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona) was sent out as one of three commissioners; Scott was executed; Bishop Taché, at the request of the Canadian government, agreed to act as peacemaker; Colonel Wolseley, with a force of twelve hundred men, was sent out to restore order; Riel fled over the frontier; peace was restored, and the Canadian parliament of 1870 provided for the government of the new province of Manitoba.[4]

United States Consul at Winnipeg, 1870–93

In September, 1870, James W. Taylor was appointed consul of the United States at Winnipeg. His commission was signed September 21, and, having been confirmed by the Senate, was

[1] Referring to the execution of Thomas Scott, an Ontario man, by order of Louis Riel, whom he had defied. See Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 229.

[2] *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 42.

[3] Taylor to James D. Porter, November 3, 1885.

[4] Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 228–30. There is considerable information about the Red River Rebellion in *Reminiscences of the Red River Rebellion of 1869*, by G. T. D. (Toronto, 1873).

forwarded to him on December 22.[1] His name had been brought forward for the position by Alexander Ramsey. In addition to his interest in the Canadian Northwest and his very great knowledge of its resources, no less than his long period of service in connection with northwest affairs, there were certain special reasons which influenced Taylor in accepting the consulate. He was identified with northwestern railway interests, and was urged to accept the Winnipeg position by Jay Cooke, who had undertaken to build the Northern Pacific; indeed, his services were financially acknowledged by Cooke.[2] Later, as an inducement to retain the consulate, he was paid an allowance by Sir Donald A. Smith, Norman W. Kittson, and others representing the Red River Navigation Company; and when the railway superseded steamboat navigation, this allowance was continued by the Canadian Pacific Railway.[3] His interest in the subject of union, commercial and possibly political, with British North America was another incentive. On November 24, 1870, he wrote to General Banks from Winnipeg: "I have accepted the Winnipeg Consulate, believing that I can advance the Annexation policy with which you are identified more effectively here than elsewhere." On December 17, 1870, Banks replied: "I shall be glad to renew the proposition for the admission of the British Provinces to the Union, which you propose, and do not doubt that it may produce a good effect upon the public mind, both in the Provinces and in this country."[4]

During the first part of his consulate Taylor was occupied in "obtaining reliable information for the State Department of the situation in Manitoba, and the Saskatchewan and Mackenzie

[1] Fish to Ramsey, September 21, 1870; Department of State to Taylor, December 22, 1870.

[2] Taylor to Sir George Stephen, July 24, 1889.

[3] *Ibid.;* see also Taylor to J. J. Hill, September 15, 1891.

[4] See also Taylor to W. K. Rogers, May 14, 1877. In 1885—fifteen years later—Taylor still clung to his belief in the practicability of a union of the United States and Canada. Taylor to Henry H. Sibley, April 23, 1885; to H. B. Payne, April 24, 1885.

districts to the Northwest,"[1] and in addition to the routine duties of the office, corresponded widely in regard to railway matters, particularly with Jay Cooke and Company on questions relating to the Northern Pacific Railway.[2] He was also in communication with Lieutenant-Governor Archibald of Manitoba, who suggested that the Northern Pacific should deflect to the north and pass westward through British territory. Archibald was also interested in the subject of an international railroad from Montreal to Sault Ste. Marie, and thence by way of Duluth to Manitoba and the valley of the Saskatchewan River.[3]

Taylor remained United States consul at Winnipeg from 1870 until his death in 1893. During this period of twenty-three years he was occupied in the discharge of the routine consular duties, in continuing his investigations of the resources of the Northwest, and in publishing—largely in the form of newspaper articles—the fruits of his researches. His consular reports deal largely with the commercial relations of the two countries, but cover also, of course, all phases of Canadian Northwest development that were of significance to this government. A considerable number of these reports are to be found in the congressional series of government publications in the volumes entitled *Commercial Relations of the United States.* They were confined in their scope to Manitoba, and the complete series constitutes a valuable summary of the development of that province during the period of Taylor's consulate.[4]

[1] Taylor to Banks, November 24, 1870.

[2] Correspondence of 1870 and 1871.

[3] Archibald to Taylor, January 3, 1871. This letter with Taylor's reply of February 8 was published, probably with the title *International System of Railways*, at Ottawa for private circulation (Taylor to Archibald, April 24, 1871). See also Taylor to F. H. Clarke, president of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company, January 12, 1871, in which he writes of his relations with Archibald.

[4] The reports of Consul Taylor are to be found in manuscript in his letter-books. The printed reports are in the congressional series as follows: 42 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 18, pp. 649–57 (serial 1523); 43 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Docu-*

Taylor succeeded in identifying himself thoroughly with the business and social life of the Canadian Northwest, and of Winnipeg more especially. The newspapers of that period contain the record of his intimate relations with Canadians. Always enthusiastic in his faith in the Northwest, but ever temperate and judicious in his utterances, he was much in demand as a speaker at Canadian public gatherings, and his views, through the medium of the newspapers, were widely circulated and discussed. On matters relating to railway expansion and the geographical features of the West, as well as upon all phases of Canadian-American relations, he was a recognized authority. The *Report* of the minister of agriculture of the province of Manitoba for the year 1880 contained as an appendix: "Central British America—Its Physical and Natural Resources. Extracts from the Publications of Mr. J. W. Tay-

ments, vol. 13, pp. 581–84 (serial 1611); 44 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 15, pp. 953–60 (serial 1692); 44 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 12, pp. 580–90 (serial 1759); 45 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 22, pp. 515–24 (serial 1814); 45 Congress, 3 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 18, pp. 649–55 (serial 1860); 46 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 25, pp. 400–408 (serial 1926); 46 Congress, 3 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 30, pp. 485–91 (serial 1980); 49 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 34, pp. 620–28 (serial 2402); 49 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 26, pp. 862–66 (serial 2485); 50 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 31, pp. 533–36 (serial 2563); 51 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 44, pp. 26–29 (serial 2759); 51 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 29, pp. 289–93 (serial 2859); 52 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 37, no. 204, p. 301 (serial 2957). The nature of Taylor's brief consular reports may be indicated, for example, by the topics treated in the report for 1877–78 (serial 1814): commerce with the United States, exports, imports, navigation, government expenditures, population and settlements, and the outlook (in which he treats of prospects of Manitoba development). Usually there is also a summary of railway development for the year covered by the report.

In *United States Consular Reports,* 30: 199 (May–August, 1889—Washington, 1889), there is an article by Consul Taylor on "American Agricultural Implements in Manitoba."

lor, United States Consul at Winnipeg."[1] In August, 1882, Taylor read an elaborate paper on "Forest and Fruit Culture in Manitoba" before the board of agriculture of that province. This paper, reprinted "from the Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics for Manitoba," was published in pamphlet form.[2]

In 1879 the government authorities of Manitoba tendered a reception to Mr. Reade and Mr. Pell, two members of the British Parliament on commission to investigate the resources of western Canada with reference to the future supply of bread and meat for the English market. At this banquet Consul Taylor made a speech widely reported in the press of the two countries, which not only evoked considerable criticism, but also endangered his relations with the state department. Discussing the theory of three great zones of production on this continent, particularly in its central district—cotton, maize, and wheat—he asserted that three fourths of the wheat belt, or the districts where wheat is destined to be the leading staple of agricultural products, is north of the international boundary of forty-nine degrees, and "within the same area there would be a similar appreciation in the profitable production of domestic animals, in accordance with the climatic law that the perfection in quantity and quality of plants and animals is found near the most northern limit of their successful growth."[3] Taylor's position was attacked in influential quarters. One attack, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*,[4] he replied to in its own columns, finding confirmation of his views in the editor's own writings

[1] Appendix B, 94–111 (Winnipeg, 1881).

[2] *American Journal of Forestry*, p. 95 (November, 1882). At the request of the Manitoba minister of agriculture this paper was published also in the proceedings of the first annual meeting of the American Forestry Congress held in Montreal, August 21–23, 1882; the proceedings appeared in two special numbers of the *Montreal Herald* (*ibid.*, 64). The special number containing Taylor's article is one of the newspapers accompanying the Taylor Papers.

[3] *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890; Taylor to Ingersoll, February 7, 1888.

[4] *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, October 11, 1879.

of 1860.[1] The matter, however, was taken to the authorities at Washington. Mr. Hind of Nova Scotia, who had formerly been connected with G. M. Dawson in an exploration of the Red River and Assiniboine districts, attacked Consul Taylor's reports and speeches, and urged that he should be censured or discharged. The state department forwarded the communications of Mr. Hind to Taylor without comment, giving him an opportunity to defend his position. Taylor made an elaborate statement of his case in a letter to Assistant Secretary of State Davis, and the whole correspondence was referred to Spencer F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution. This authority sustained Taylor fully against Mr. Hind, and the matter was thereupon dropped.[2]

There are a number of outstanding services which Taylor rendered to Canada and the United States during his consulate that proved to be of considerable significance. Early in September, 1871, he learned that a Fenian attack or raid from the United States upon Manitoba was being planned. He at once informed Lieutenant-Governor Archibald and his cabinet, and was assured that the Manitoba and Canadian government would have no objection if the United States, in suppressing the Fenian movement, should send troops across the boundary. On September 11 Taylor communicated the facts of the matter to the state department, and eight days later Brevet Colonel Loyd Wheaton of the Twentieth United States Infantry, the commandant at Fort Pembina, was ordered by Washington to arrest the Fenians, even though it involved crossing the frontier. Steps were at once taken by Colonel Wheaton to check the movement, and "General" O'Neill and some thirty of his followers were captured at the Hudson's Bay post of Fort Pem-

[1] Taylor to Sir George Stephen, July 24, 1889.

[2] Hind to Blaine (copy), December 12, 1881; Taylor to Davis, January 23, 1882; to Sir George Stephen, July 24, 1889. Taylor's defense was not published, except a portion of it which was incorporated in a paper on the "Resources of the Great Mackenzie Basin," in *Appendices to the Twenty-second Volume of the Journals of the Senate of Canada*, 150–55 (Ottawa, 1888).

bina. On the fifth of October Colonel Wheaton sent the following communication to Consul Taylor: "I have captured and now hold 'General' J. O'Neill, 'General' Thomas Curley and 'Colonel' J. J. Donelly. I think further anxiety regarding a Fenian invasion of Manitoba unnecessary."[1] The prompt action of the American government in the matter led the English government, through Sir Edward Thornton, to express its thanks to Colonel Wheaton and Consul Taylor for their action in the case.[2] In discussing the Fenian raid before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, May 11, 1888, Consul Taylor declared: "An additional circumstance, relating to the personal intervention of Gen. Grant . . . was his transmission of a despatch to Lord Lisgar, Governor-General of Canada, permitting the movement of British troops if necessary through American territory."[3]

Political complications of a more serious nature came on in 1885, in connection with which Taylor rendered valuable service. In March of 1885 the half-breeds of the Saskatchewan district in the Northwest were in rebellion against the Dominion government. The causes and circumstances of this rebellion can not be detailed in this paper.[4] Suffice it to say that Riel was again the leading spirit of the revolt, having returned to Canada in 1884 from the United States, where he had fled

[1] Gilbert McMicken, *The Abortive Fenian Raid of Manitoba* (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Transactions*, no. 32—Winnipeg, 1888). Consul Taylor was present at the reading of this paper before the society, May 11, 1888, and took an active part in the discussion which followed. A report of his remarks is given on pages 10 and 11. The Taylor Papers are incomplete for the fall of 1871, and his communications to Washington are missing. On this outbreak, see also Lewis in *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 43.

[2] W. Hunter, second assistant secretary of state, to Taylor, January 9, 1872.

[3] McMicken, *The Abortive Fenian Raid of Manitoba*, 10. See also Taylor to Ramsey, May 3, 1872; to President Grant, May 6, 1872.

[4] See Lewis, "Canada under Macdonald, 1878–1891," in *Canada and Its Provinces*, 6: 99–106, for an account of the causes which led to this uprising and its progress; also Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, 249–55.

after the first rebellion. Riel declared the troubles in Saskatchewan to be but a continuation of the uprising of 1869–70.[1] The revolt lasted three months, and cost Canada about five million dollars, besides a large number of casualties. Riel himself was arrested, tried at Regina, sentenced to death, and, despite strenuous efforts by the French-Canadians to secure his reprieve, was executed on the sixteenth of November. Canada was deeply stirred. "For some time after his [Riel's] death," writes Sir John G. Bourinot, "attempts were made to keep up the excitement which had so long existed in the province of Quebec on the question. The Dominion government was certainly weakened for a time in Quebec by its action in this matter."[2]

While the rebellion was in progress, the preservation of neutrality along the border between the United States and Canada, and the prevention of the participation against the Canadian government of American Indians, more particularly of the Blackfeet and the Métis of Montana, among whom Riel had lived for some years, were serious problems. As a result of the strong representations of Consul Taylor, the frontier from Pembina to the Rocky Mountains was under surveillance in the spring of 1885, by a mounted patrol in the service of the United States government, "involving a large expenditure, but effectual for the repression of any hostile movement in aid of the Saskatchewan insurgents by the Indians of Dakota and Montana." So long as the situation remained critical, Consul Taylor, by authority of the state department, was placed in direct communication with the military and other officials near the frontier.[3]

The whole rebellion was the subject of many and voluminous reports to the state department at Washington, and Consul Taylor himself had a considerable correspondence with Louis

[1] Louis Riel to Taylor, n.d. (after August 1, 1885), in 51 Congress, special Senate session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 4 (serial 2613).

[2] *Canada under British Rule*, 255.

[3] *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

Riel.[1] Riel claimed to have been made an American citizen "about the 16th day of March, 1883, at Helena, Lewis and Clark County, Montana," a circumstance that complicated the situation.[2] Riel himself applied to Consul Taylor on July 21, 1885, and again in the first part of August, and finally prepared and submitted, through Consul Taylor, a petition to President Cleveland, asking for diplomatic intervention by the government of the United States to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced upon him by the Canadian court. In the United States, too, there were movements in his favor. On August 16, 1885, 410 citizens of Lawrence, Massachusetts, petitioned the president to take action in Riel's behalf. On August 18, 65 citizens of Wayland, Massachusetts, did likewise, asserting that Riel had been denied rights to which he was entitled as an American citizen. On August 29, 69 citizens of Rochester, New York, petitioned in his behalf, declaring that at his trial "under the then existing political excitement in Canada, resulting in a measure from questions bearing upon the rights of the people for whom he was contending, he was deprived of the means of making his best defense, and that his trial was unfair, partial, and unjust."[3] The petition of Louis Riel to the president is a curious document. After recounting in much detail the causes of the revolts and the incidents connected with them, making a special point of the promise of amnesty, he declares that the British government has forfeited all right to the "state and government of the Northwest," and that they are his "as they were intrusted to me by the people's voice, at Fort Garry, the 11th of February, 1870, and such as recognized to me by the four commissioners of the Crown who have invited me to treat, and by the Crown itself, which

[1] See the letter-books and correspondence for 1885.

[2] Petition of Louis Riel to President Cleveland in 51 Congress, special Senate session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 6. Riel's claim to citizenship was fully substantiated, the naturalization certificate having been made out March 16, 1883 (*ibid.,* 11).

[3] Riel's application to President Cleveland and the petitions presented by various bodies of citizens were published in *ibid.,* 6–11.

has treated with my delegates through the Vice-King of Canada." He then petitions for protection, and requests "that the international line between the United States and the Northwest be blotted out from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, that the Hon. James W. Taylor, United States consul at Winnipeg, be appointed governor-general of those vast territories," and that he, Louis Riel, be made "first minister and secretary of the Northwest under Hon. James W. Taylor."

On February 11, 1889, more than three years after the death of Louis Riel, the Senate of the United States passed a resolution requesting the president "to communicate to the Senate such knowledge or information as may be in his possession or under his control relating to the case of one Louis Riel, otherwise Louis David Riel, with copies of all documents, papers, correspondence, and evidence bearing on the subject." A message was transmitted by President Harrison on March 11, 1889, in response to this resolution. The message contained considerable material communicated by Consul Taylor, together with other documents bearing on the case.[1] At the time of the presentation of the petitions of Riel and his sympathizers the attitude of the United States was, briefly, that United States citizenship did not give Riel immunity from Canadian laws for offenses committed within their jurisdiction and that it had been definitely certified to the state department that the offense of Riel was committed wholly within British jurisdiction.[2]

Consul Taylor retained his consulate during several administrations. When Cleveland became president, Taylor expected removal, but citizens of both parties urged his retention; members of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce even petitioned the president to retain him, and no successor was appointed.[3] Again, in 1889 the governor and state officers of Minnesota, Senators Davis and Washburn, Secretary Windom, and ex-

[1] 51 Congress, special Senate session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1.

[2] Letter of T. F. Bayard, secretary of state, to the president, *ibid.*, 2.

[3] Taylor to P. H. Kelly, July 6, 1885.

Governors Ramsey and Marshall united in urging his retention as consul.

Taylor's interest in railway expansion continued during his later years, and he devoted much attention to schemes for further railway development after the transcontinental northwest lines were accomplished facts. On February 14, 1889—a man almost seventy years of age—he presented in a lecture at Winnipeg an elaborate plan of railway expansion which was commented on extensively by the press of the United States and Canada. It was nothing less than a proposal to construct a railway to Norton's Sound, on Bering Strait, through British Columbia and Alaska, contemporaneously with the extension of the Russia-Siberia line, and a "traverse of the straits separating the continents of America and Asia by ferry or tunnel of thirty miles."[1] A writer in a Canadian newspaper, discussing the details of the proposition, says:

Mr. Taylor favored a line from the frontier in Kootenay Valley near Spokane, in Washington, along the western flank of the Rocky Mountains, from valley to valley of rivers, concurring to afford favorable roadbed to the navigable channel

[1] *Manitoba Daily Free Press,* February 16, 1889. Among other papers the lecture was reproduced in the *Inland Sentinel* (Kamloops, B. C.), March 2, 1889. It is discussed in the *Winnipeg Tribune,* December 20, 1890. The lecture was later expanded into an article, "International Railway to Alaska," a manuscript copy of which is to be found in Taylor's letter-book, undated, following a letter dated November 28, 1889. It was published in the *Vancouver World* between November 28 and January 21, 1890, probably on December 25, 1889 (Taylor to W. F. Wharton, January 21, 1890; to J. T. Baker, January 24, 1890). On March 12, 1889, the *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette,* in an editorial entitled "A Great Scheme" discussed Taylor's plan. The editorial concludes as follows: "Time has shown that the predictions and theories of Consul Taylor on questions affecting that portion of the continent have been well thought out and singularly correct, and his enthusiasm for the development of civilization in barren places, and his entire disinterestedness in the scheme which he foreshadows give great weight to, and command serious attention for, his opinions on all that affects the northwestern portion of the American continent." See also an editorial entitled "A Railroad of the Future" in the *Utica Morning Herald,* March 15, 1889.

of the mighty Yukon, and thence to the Pacific Ocean. The land subsidies by the governments of British Columbia and the United States supplemented by a guarantee of 4% by the United States upon $50,000 per mile for a period of 25 years; and the commerce and railway dividends sure to result from opening to the world 1,500 miles of continuous gold fields, consisting of the districts successively of Kootenay, Cariboo, Omineca, Cassiar, and Yukon, were claimed to be an ample warrant for the feasibility of the scheme in question with the great advantage that the southern terminus of the proposed line would be as convenient of access from Portland and San Francisco as from Chicago.[1]

Taylor was now an old man. Although he suffered considerable inconvenience in the last two years of his life from "an affliction incidental to his advanced age," he was unwilling to give up his work;[2] his letter-books are well kept up to the summer of 1892. On April 18, 1893, Taylor was stricken with partial paralysis; he died on the afternoon of April 28, almost seventy-four years old.[3] Fitting honors were paid to the dead consul, officially, and by great numbers of friends and admirers; flags on Dominion government buildings flew at half-mast during his funeral services as a token of the respect and mourning of Canada. The remains of Taylor were removed to Utica, New York, where they were interred beside the graves of Mrs. Taylor and two daughters.[4] The East that is East and the West that is West had met in the life and services and death of James W. Taylor.

[1] *Winnipeg Daily Tribune,* December 20, 1890.

[2] An article of Taylor's on the "Wheat Area of Central Canada" appeared in the *New York Sun* in the summer of 1891. Erastus Wiman, discussing this article in *Harper's Weekly,* 36: 174 (February 20, 1892), refers to Taylor as a man "whose knowledge of the great Northwest has been for many years a national possession." See Taylor to Wiman, May 20 and June 13, 1891; to C. A. Dana, June 13, 1891; to J. J. Hill, September 15, 1891.

[3] *Manitoba Daily Free Press,* April 29, 1893; *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893; Taylor to Hastings, June 8, 1888.

[4] Mrs. Taylor died in 1882; one daughter, Harriet Taylor, died in 1880, and another, Alice (Mrs. Charles L. Monfort), in 1887. Taylor

Character and Personality

Taylor was preëminently a speaker, a writer, a scholar. Of a judicious temperament, with a love for research and with great skill with the pen, he was a man whose writings carried weight. He did things thoroughly and conscientiously. Possessed of a striking personality, Taylor was a gentleman of great charm and magnetism. In all the tributes that were paid him after his death, the emphasis was invariably upon the attractiveness and kindliness of his personality, and upon his uniform courtesy and gentleness. The tribute of Archbishop Fortin was representative of scores of appreciations. He said of Taylor:

> He was in a strange land, but not long a stranger among us, for the geniality of his disposition, the urbanity of his manner, the broad, generous catholic spirit which always guided his words and actions soon gathered around him a large number of friends and admirers. There was about him a charm, an attractiveness, a magnetism which no one could resist. I think I am safe in saying he had not a single enemy; all respected him and very many loved him. A man of first rate abilities, of keen observation, of wide reading, he had gathered vast stores of useful and practical knowledge. Few will fail to recollect the delight of his conversation, which was always instructive and elevating. His knowledge of modern history was astonishing. There was not a fact connected with the settlement of this country or the development of the great American Republic with which he was not perfectly familiar, and the cheerfulness with which he would entertain his friends by his recital of his early experience endeared him to them all. He was always the polished gentleman. There was in him a grace and ease of manner, a winning courtesy of deportment, a natural superiority altogether befitting a prince among men.[1]

The praise of Taylor is echoed in all the comments that his death drew forth. A St. Paul paper said of him:

was survived by two daughters, Mrs. Charles L. Alden, of Troy, New York, and Elizabeth Taylor, who was studying art in Paris. *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893.

[1] *Manitoba Daily Free Press,* May 1, 1893.

His unalterable gentleness and courtesy in all his business and social intercourse with strangers or his neighbors made him a popular favorite at Winnipeg, as it had won the affection of his friends in every community where he had lived. Above all things he was at all times and in all respects a gentleman; a gentleman not in demeanor only, but in thought and speech and feeling and taste; a kind-hearted, courteous, modest gentleman every inch of him and every day and hour of his life.[1]

In personal appearance Taylor bore a resemblance to Stephen A. Douglas. A large portrait of him, painted by V. A. Long in 1893, was placed in the city hall of Winnipeg by the city council. The portrait is of Taylor as he appeared in his later years: with gray hair, a smooth-shaven face, blue eyes, a broad, intellectual forehead, fine features—withal a kindly, attractive, powerful face.

Taylor was a true nature-lover, fond of wandering on field and road, having, indeed, something of a roving, almost a vagabond, spirit.[2] He was particularly fond of flowers, and took great delight in picking prairie flowers, especially early in the spring. It afforded him greater pleasure to share his flowers with others; he was often seen on the streets of Winnipeg with a great basket filled with nosegays carried unconventionally upon his arm, distributing them among his delighted friends. To what extent this custom of Taylor's endeared him to the people of Winnipeg may be seen from an incident described by Charles E. Flandrau, writing in 1899:

Having spoken of my dear old friend James W. Taylor I cannot omit to mention a most touching tribute paid to his memory by the people of Winnipeg. The municipality has placed upon the walls of its City Hall a fine portrait of the faithful consul, under which hangs a basket for the reception of flowers. Every spring each farmer entering the city plucks a wild flower, and puts it in the basket. The great love of a people could not

[1] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893.

[2] Personal interview of the writer, July 26, 1915, with Mr. C. N. Bell of Winnipeg, a gentleman who knew Taylor as a friend.

be expressed in a more beautiful and pathetic manner, and no man was more worthy of it than Consul Taylor.[1]

Absolutely unconventional, and of unassuming nature, Taylor was content in his position as United States consul. An editorial writer declared of him that "he had the qualities which would have rendered him conspicuously successful in politics, law or in any career he had chosen, if he had not lacked the stimulus of ambition. Of this he was so utterly destitute that he was more than content with small employments which gratified his fondness for research and literary activity while withdrawing him from the harsh strifes and bitter struggles of parties and the greedy competitions of business ambition."[2] The fine unselfishness of his nature and the broad generosity of his spirit are revealed in almost all the records of his activity, but more especially in his letters.

Perhaps the most striking of all Taylor's characteristics was his unconquerable faith in the West, and it is largely by this faith and enthusiasm, and by the work which he did in advancing the interests of the West, that he must be judged. A writer in a Canadian newspaper said of him at his death: "Many years may yet pass before the full meaning of what he said and wrote will be realized."[3] Another said: "So closely . . . had Consul Taylor been identified with the history and development of our country, and so earnest a friend did he prove himself of it, that he attracted to himself an amount of respect and genuine love on the part of the public which few men ever accumulate even in their own land."[4] The *Manitoba Free Press* declared that there was no parallel of a citizen of one country laboring by tongue and pen so long, so disinterestedly, so enthusiastically and persistently for the welfare and development of another and, in some sense, a rival country. "In thus loving the Canadian Northwest," the editor writes, "Con-

[1] *St. Paul Globe,* October 8, 1899.
[2] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* April 29, 1893.
[3] *Manitoba Daily Free Press,* April 29, 1893.
[4] *Winnipeg Daily Tribune,* April 29, 1893.

sul Taylor did not love his own country the less. He realized that the prosperity of this country and that of his own were inseparably connected, or that the American Northwest would share along with Canada the results of anything that he might do with tongue or pen to cause the latter to be appreciated and developed in a worthy manner."[1]

An account of the life of James Wickes Taylor and of his writings and their influence is the true summary of his contributions to the development of the Northwest. It is certain that his part, if inconspicuous, was of no little importance in the westward movement; that he was one of that band of pioneers to whose clear vision, steadfast purpose, and fearless faith the wonderful Northwest owes its progress.

Writings of James W. Taylor

So large a part of Taylor's work was done with the pen that it seems desirable to append to the sketch of his career a bibliography designed to include all books and pamphlets written by him and some of his more important newspaper articles. The list contains thirty-three items arranged in chronological order, copies of most of which are to be found in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. A few additional items were located in the Manitoba Provincial Library at Winnipeg and one in the Library of Congress, while a few are known to the compiler by reference only. All such cases are indicated in the notes.

Address delivered before the Hamilton Chapter of the Alpha Delta Phi Society, in the college chapel, Clinton, October 22, 1840, on the life and character of George Langford Jr. Utica, Bush, pr., 1840. 11 p.

The victim of intrigue; a tale of Burr's conspiracy. Cincinnati, Robinson & Jones, 1847. xvi, 120 p.

Thomson, *Bibliography of Ohio*, 338. Copy in the Library of Congress.

[1] *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, April 29, 1893.

History of the state of Ohio, first period, 1650–1787. Cincinnati, Derby, 1854. 557 p.

Thomson, *Bibliography of Ohio,* 338.

The southwestern or Neosho route of a Pacific railway—the expediency of legislation in its favor by the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw nations. *Cincinnati Railroad Record Supplement,* March 3, 1856.

Geographical memoir of a district of North America, extending from latitude 43 deg. 30 min. to 54 deg. and between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg and the Pacific Ocean. *Cincinnati Railroad Record Supplement,* April 14, 1856.

A manual of the Ohio school system; consisting of an historical view of its progress, and a republication of the school laws in force. Cincinnati, Derby, 1857. 413 p.

State boundary question—description of the country between Red River and Lake Superior. *St. Paul Advertiser,* January 31, 1857.

The greater portion of this article is found also as appendix 3 of Minnesota, *Report from a Select Committee of the House of Representatives on the Overland Emigration Route from Minnesota to British Oregon,* 47–53 (St. Paul, Goodrich, pr., 1858).

The valleys of the James and Sioux rivers—the Missouri slope of Minnesota. *St. Paul Advertiser,* February 21, 1857.

State boundary question—the value of the north and south line to southern Minnesota. *St. Paul Advertiser,* February 28, 1857.

Region of North America, tributary to the navigation of the Red River of the North, and to the commerce of Minnesota. *St. Paul Advertiser,* April 11, 1857.

[Report on an overland route from Minnesota to British Oregon.] *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* July 10, 1858.

Mr. Taylor's report forms a part of the proceedings of a meeting of citizens held in St. Paul, July 7, 1858, appearing under the heading "Frazer River Gold Mine! Overland Route through Minnesota and the Saskatchewan Valley." Also in Minnesota, *Report from a Select Committee of the House of Representatives on the Overland Route from Minnesota to British Oregon,* 9–21 (St. Paul, Goodrich, pr., 1858); and in appendix to Minnesota, *House Journal,* 1858–59, pp. 7–19, and appendix to Minnesota, *Senate Journal,* 1858–59, pp. 7–19.

The railroad system of the state of Minnesota with its connections; reported to the common council of the city of St. Paul, March 31, 1859, in pursuance of a resolution of the city council. St. Paul, Moore, pr., 1859. 22 p.

Also as appendix to St. Paul Common Council, *Proceedings,* 1858–59 (St. Paul, Daily Minnesotian official print, 1858). Also in *St. Paul Daily Times,* April 3, 5–7, 1859, and in *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* April 5, 1859. Reissued with the addition of an introduction by W. R. Marshall as *The Railroad System of the State of Minnesota with Its Railroad, Telegraphic, and Postal Connections.* St. Paul, Pioneer Printing Company, pr., 1859. 24 p.

Communication to Messrs. W. H. Nobles and S. B. Olmstead. *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* April 24, 1859.

One of the documents accompanying the communication from Nobles and Olmstead to the city council of St. Paul, appearing under the heading "Exploration of the Northwest." Also in *St. Paul Daily Times,* April 24, 1859, under the heading "Exploration of the Valleys and Sources of the South Saskatchewan and Columbia Rivers." Also in St. Paul Common Council, *Proceedings,* 1858–59, pp. 223–26.

Taylor's communication deals with "routes between the channels of the Red River of Minnesota and Frazer River of British America."

Northwest British America and its relations to the state of Minnesota; a report communicated to the legislature of Minnesota by Governor Ramsey, March 2d, and ordered to be printed. St. Paul, Newson, *etc.,* pr., 1860. 42 p., map.

Also, with the exception of appendices B and H, in the *Daily Minnesotian and Times,* March 11, 15, 16, 21–24, 1860. Another edition "Printed as a Supplement to the Journal of the House of Representatives, Session of 1859–60." St. Paul, Newson, *etc.,* 1860. 54 p. On appendix A, see the following item. Appendix B, entitled "Geographical Memoir of the Red River and Saskatchewan District of British America," is also by Taylor.

Central British America. *Atlantic Monthly,* 5: 103–8 (January, 1860).

Evidence as to Taylor's authorship of this article can be found in the index volume, pp. 10, 100. It appears also as appendix A to the preceding item.

Canadian reciprocity treaty—some considerations in its favor. 36 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 13, no. 96, pp. 47–60 (serial 1057. [Washington, 1860]).

The document as a whole is a letter from the secretary of the treasury, dated June 16, 1860, communicating reports of Messrs. Hatch and Taylor, in reference to the operations of the reciprocity treaty.

The Sioux war: What shall we do with it? The Sioux Indians: What shall we do with them? St. Paul, Press Printing Company, pr., 1862. 16 p.

A reprint of articles appearing in the *St. Paul Daily Press*, October 21–25, 1862.

Alleghania; a geographical and statistical memoir, exhibiting the strength of the Union, and the weakness of slavery, in the mountain districts of the South. St. Paul, James Davenport, 1862. viii, 24 p.

A reprint of a series of papers communicated to the *St. Paul Daily Press*, November 23, 24, 27, 28, December 3–5, 11, 12, 1861, with the addition of a dedicatory note and preface.

Relations between the United States and Northwest British America. [Washington, 1862.] 85 p., map, diagram. (37 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 10, no. 146—serial 1138.)

Accompanied by a letter of transmittal from the secretary of the treasury, dated June 20, 1862. The document consists of letters from Taylor to Secretary Chase from July 10, 1861 to June 12, 1862, with accompanying inclosures, and a communication (also Taylor's), dated May 1, 1862, entitled "Geographical Memoir of Northwest British America, and Its Relations to the Revenue and Commerce of the United States" (pp. 45–85). The letters are preceded by an outline summary of their contents (pp. 2–18).

Saint Paul letters, numbers 1–5. *St. Paul Daily Press*, January 26–March 16, 1862.

Mrs. Swisshelm, January 26; Minnesota Historical Society—Incidents of September 18, 1860—The Red River Bishop and the New York Senator—Seward on the "Transverse Axis," January 30; Stanton and Chase—A Reminiscence of Ohio Politics, February 8; The Saskatchewan Gold Fields, February 16; The Alleghany Campaign of General Fremont, March 16. The letters were unsigned, but Taylor, through his undoubted authorship of the second letter, may be credited with the entire series. See *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 57.

The goldfields of the Northwest; to the Cariboo and Saskatchewan mines through Minnesota and Selkirk. *St. Paul Daily Press,* April 10, 1862.

The Sioux War; what has been done by the Minnesota campaign of 1863; what should be done by a Dakota campaign of 1864; with some general remarks upon the Indian policy, past and future, of the United States. St. Paul, Press Printing Company, pr., 1863. 16 p.

A reprint of papers communicated to the *St. Paul Daily Press* of August 29, September 2, 9, and 12, 1863.

Commercial relations with British America. [Washington, 1866.] 36 p. (39 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 128—serial 1263.)

Accompanied by a letter of transmittal from the secretary of the treasury, dated June 12, 1866.

Gold mines east of the Rocky Mountains. [Washington, 1867.] 28 p. (39 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 92—serial 1293.)

Accompanied by a letter of transmittal from the secretary of the treasury, dated February 13, 1867. The document is also to be found in J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor, *Reports upon the Mineral Resources of the United States,* 323–50 (Washington, 1867).

Mineral resources east of the Rocky Mountains. [Washington, 1868.] 72 p. (40 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 273—serial 1343.)

Accompanied by a letter of transmittal from the secretary of the treasury, dated May 2, 1868. Also as *Report on the Mineral Resources of the United States East of the Rocky Mountains.* Washington, 1868. 72 p. This is bound with J. Ross Browne, *Report on the Mineral Resources of the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, 1868. 674 p.) in a volume entitled *Reports on the Mineral Resources of the United States.*

[Two letters and supplementary papers relating to affairs on the Red River.] 41 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 33, pp. 7, 17–52 (serial 1405. [Washington, 1870]).

The document as a whole consists of "information relating to the presence of the Honorable William McDougall at Pembina, in Dakota Territory, and the opposition by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement to his assumption of the office of governor of the Northwest Territory," communicated by the president, February 2, 1870.

[Consular reports, 1871–92.]

These reports to the state department are included in the House executive document entitled *Commercial Relations of the United States* for the sessions of Congress during the period covered by Taylor's consulate at Winnipeg, and in *United States Consular Reports* issued by the state department. For a more complete statement of these citations, see note 4, page 197.

Central British America—its physical and natural resources; extracts from the publications of Mr. J. W. Taylor, U. S. consul at Winnipeg. Manitoba, Minister of Agriculture, *Reports,* 1880, appendix B, pp. 94–111 (Winnipeg, 1881).

Copy in the provincial library, Winnipeg.

Forest and fruit culture in Manitoba. Winnipeg, 1882. 19 p.

According to the *American Journal of Forestry,* p. 95 (November, 1882), a reprint "from the Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics for Manitoba." A careful search in the library at Winnipeg failed to locate this report. The article was printed also in the proceedings of the first annual meeting of the American Forestry Congress, Montreal, August 21–23, 1882, published in two special numbers of the *Montreal Herald*; see the *American Journal of Forestry,* p. 64.

Resources of the great Mackenzie basin. Canada, *Report of the Select Committee of the Senate Appointed to Enquire into the Resources of the Great Mackenzie Basin,* 150–55 (Ottawa, Chamberlin, pr., 1888. 310 p., maps).

The report forms number 1 of the *Appendices to the Twenty-second Volume of the Journals of the Senate of Canada.* Copy in Minnesota State Library.

[Three letters and supplementary papers relating to Louis Riel.] 51 Congress, special Senate session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, pp. 2, 3–5, 6–9 (serial 2613. [Washington, 1889]).

The document as a whole is a "report of the Secretary of State, with accompanying papers, in regard to the case of Louis Riel," communicated by the president, March 11, 1889.

An international railway to Alaska. *Vancouver World,* 1889.

A manuscript copy of this article is to be found in Taylor's letter-book, undated, following a letter bearing the date of November 28, 1889. That the article appeared in the *Vancouver World* between that date and January 21, 1890, probably on December 25, is con-

firmed by letters from Taylor to W. F. Wharton, January 21, 1890; to J. T. Baker, January 24, 1890. A file of the *World* was not accessible.

Wheat area of central Canada. *New York Sun,* 1891.

That this article appeared in the *New York Sun* during the summer of 1891 is confirmed by letters from Taylor to Erastus Wiman, May 20 and June 13, 1891; to C. A. Dana, June 13, 1891; and to J. J. Hill, September 15, 1891. It has not been possible to consult a file of the *Sun* for the exact date of its appearance.

The Taylor Papers

Shortly after the death of James W. Taylor in 1893, a trunk containing his papers, together with a number of books, pamphlets, newspapers, maps, and pictures, was deposited with the Minnesota Historical Society. This trunk remained untouched in a storeroom until the spring of 1915, when it was discovered by Mr. Kellar, who was investigating the condition of the state archives in the Old Capitol. A hasty examination of the material soon disclosed its value, and the trunk was removed at once to the vaults of the society in the New Capitol. The books and pamphlets have been catalogued and placed in the society's library; the newspapers, not including clippings, have been turned over to the newspaper department, and the printed maps and pictures have been filed with the society's collections of similar material. The remaining material in the trunk, consisting of letters received by Taylor, letter-books, manuscripts of articles, speeches, etc., scrapbooks, and newspaper clippings, has been arranged and filed as the "Taylor Papers" in the society's manuscript collection.[1]

The value of these Taylor Papers lies largely in the original material which they contain on various phases of the history of the American and Canadian Northwest. Light is thrown upon the commercial and political relations of the United States and Canada, many of the documents in the collection dealing with such subjects as the settlement of the Northwest, imports and

[1] See *ante,* 134. Two ledgers also were found in the trunk, but they are not Taylor's and seem to be of little importance.

exports, annexation, reciprocity, railroad building, the Red River rebellion of 1869–70, the Fenian disturbance, and the Saskatchewan rebellion of 1885. Other documents relate to the internal political affairs of Minnesota, the United States, and Canada. Geography, exploration, and the agricultural capacity and development of the American and Canadian Northwest are dealt with extensively, and there is much valuable material on the subject of railway development in the West, particularly on the Minnesota, Canadian, and transcontinental routes. The collection contains also valuable material upon the affairs of the province of Manitoba and upon the routine of the American consulate in Winnipeg.

The letters to Taylor number approximately seventeen hundred, and date from 1859 to 1893, although for the first ten years of this period they are not very numerous.[1] These letters came, in the main, from the state, treasury, and war departments at Washington; from governors and other officials of Minnesota, Manitoba, and Canada; from railway officials, among whom may be noted Jay Cooke, George L. Becker, C. J. Brydges, and Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona); from congressmen; from persons who had business dealings with the Winnipeg consulate; from newspaper men; and from personal friends.

The letter-books date from 1869 to August, 1892. Down to 1885 they are in the form of scratch tablets of a poor quality of paper upon which the letters were written with lead pencil, and in the earlier of these, many of the pages are badly torn, and some are missing entirely. What is left, however, can usually be deciphered. After 1885 bound notebooks were used, and from 1890 on the copies were written in ink in separate books for official and unofficial correspondence. There are ten of these bound notebooks, and ten tablets, in all twenty

[1] Some of the early letters are very valuable, however; for example, two letters from Donald Gunn to Taylor, the one probably written in 1859, the other March 26, 1860, which describe in considerable detail the Red River settlement and country.

letter-books containing copies of about sixteen hundred letters. These deal with practically every phase of American-Canadian relations during the period covered, and are the fruits of careful investigation and observation. Taylor was particularly well informed on questions relating to railway development, commercial relations, the natural resources of the Canadian Northwest, and the political relations of the two countries. What he wrote on these subjects is authoritative. In addition to his numerous letters and reports to Washington[1] and his correspondence as consul, there are letters to such men as President Buchanan, Edward Cooper, Hugh McCulloch, Thomas McGee, Joseph Howe, C. J. Brydges, Jay Cooke, Norman W. Kittson, Alexander Ramsey, William Windom, W. B. Ogden, Horace White, George L. Becker, James J. Porter, Hamilton Fish, J. Gregory Smith, Nathaniel P. Banks, A. B. Nettleton, F. H. Clarke, President Grant, J. C. Bancroft Davis, Donald Smith, James J. Hill, Governor Archibald of Manitoba, and John Jay Knox, to mention only a few. These letter-books are a valuable source for the history of the Northwest during the period which they represent, and on the whole they form the most important part of the Taylor Papers.

There are over fifty manuscripts of speeches, essays, newspaper articles, and fragments in the collection, in all about four hundred and sixty manuscript pages.[2] Their value may be indicated by a few representative titles: Selkirk, The Canadian Northwest, Minnesota, Northwest Affairs, Central British America, Union with Canada, Inward Transportation from Bayfield to the Mississippi Valley, Western Railroads and the Navigation of the Red River, The Northern Pacific Railroad, Railroads and Immigration, Agriculture and Population, The Northern Boundary of Minnesota, The Hudson's Bay Company, A Road from the Mouth of the Montreal to the Mouth

[1] Some of these reports have been published, but many of the most valuable ones have not. The rebellion of 1885 is reported in elaborate detail, contemporaneously with the events of that uprising.

[2] Many of these were published in newspapers or pamphlets.

of the Yellowstone, The Reciprocity Treaty, Public Lands, Fruits of the Northwest, The Overland Route to the Pacific, Indian Affairs, The Manitoba Railway.[1] Of the several manuscript maps in the collection, the most interesting is a sketch drawn in 1888 of the proposed location of the Alaska, British Columbia, and California International Railway.

Two large scrapbooks of newspaper clippings cover the period from 1856 to 1870, and there is also a considerable number of loose clippings, many of which are gathered together in envelopes under a general subject heading. These clippings are mainly from papers published in the western part of the United States and Canada,[2] and the greater number of them fall between the years 1858 and 1863. Besides Taylor's own newspaper articles they contain a mass of material dealing with the Hudson's Bay Company, Selkirk and Saskatchewan, railways, the Northwest, exploration, the Canadian and English parliaments, an overland mail route, and Minnesota politics.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

[1] A manuscript of seven pages on his father James W. Taylor contains valuable biographical material.

[2] There are some southern and New York clippings on the slavery question.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

County Archives of the State of Illinois (Illinois State Historical Library, *Collections,* vol. 12, *Bibliographical Series,* vol. 3). By Theodore Calvin Pease, University of Illinois. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1915. cxli, 730 p.)

The liberal appropriations for research and publication made by the state of Illinois to its historical library are fully justified by the appearance of this valuable inventory of the public records in its county courthouses. Other states have in recent years recognized the importance of such records by providing for commissioners to supervise their making and preservation, but Illinois alone has had the foresight to institute a comprehensive survey of the situation and to make the results of that survey available by publication. The amount of labor involved in such an enterprise is by no means inconsiderable, as can be seen from the fact that the work has been under way in Illinois since 1911. The expenditure of so much money and labor will never be regretted, however, for there is now available in print for the use not only of historical students but of all who are concerned with public records—and who is not?—a detailed descriptive statement of just what records are to be found in each of the county depositories.

While the bulk of the volume is of interest only to the people of Illinois, the introduction of one hundred and forty pages has a wide application. It is the only comprehensive study that has ever been made of American local records and sets forth clearly the character and content of such records, their historical value, and the necessity for revision and supervision of the methods by which they are made and cared for. The development of each recording office and of each class of records is traced from the beginning with constant reference to the controlling statutes. The frequency with which the laws of the state have been ignored or set at naught by the officials is surprising, but still more startling are the conclusions as to the safety of the existing records. Despite the fact that practically all the records of several counties have been destroyed by fire, entailing great incon-

venience and financial loss to the community, as well as making impossible an adequate knowledge of its history, nearly half of the counties of the state are still without fireproof courthouses. Some counties have the more important records in supposedly fireproof vaults, but it is asserted that "in nearly one-fifth of the counties of Illinois, the records are in immediate danger of wholesale destruction by fire." Nor is fire the only source of danger, for there are numerous instances of the wanton destruction of records by officials ignorant of their value. It is greatly to be hoped that the publication of this volume will arouse in officials and in the general public a greater sense of responsibility in archive matters, and that the excellent recommendations set forth will be made effective by legislation.

In the body of the book the counties are taken up in alphabetical order, with the exception of Cook which is treated first. In each case an introductory note describes the courthouse and indicates the provisions for the care of the archives. Then follow itemized inventories, classified usually under such headings as county commissioners' and supervisors' records, county court records, taxation records, records of vital statistics, probate court records, records of wills, bonds, and letters, circuit court records, and recorders' records. For each item inclusive dates and the number of volumes or filing boxes are given, and generally the present location of the material is indicated. Too often serious gaps in the records are disclosed.

The successful completion of this monumental work ought to stimulate other states to undertake a similar survey of their county archives. That the local records of Illinois have not been and are not being properly cared for is now definitely established. Is there any good reason for thinking that the situation is much better in the other states of the Northwest?

S. J. B.

Pioneer Laymen of North America. By the Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J. Volume 1. (New York, The America Press, 1915. xvii, 287 p.)

This is the first of two volumes designed as companion books to the author's *Pioneer Priests of North America* (New York, 1908–11. 3 v.). It contains "condensed and somewhat rapid

narrations of the lives of" Cartier, Menéndez, Champlain, Maisonneuve, Charles le Moyne, and Radisson. The Catholic point of view is apparent throughout, and the didactic and controversial character of the work can be inferred from a sentence of the introduction: "From all [of the characters treated], however, lessons of conduct may be learned, and, here and there, in the course of a narrative, it is possible to correct certain false appreciations of facts and motives which a class of biased writers have fastened on American history." Students of Minnesota history will be most interested in the sketch of Radisson. Father Campbell assumes that the "two courageous young Frenchmen" who went into the interior in 1654 and returned in 1656 were Radisson and Groseilliers, but he gives no details about their first western expedition. The expedition of 1658–60 to Lake Superior and Minnesota is recounted briefly, and the alleged discovery of the Mississippi is discussed. The author apparently does not believe that Radisson saw the great river.

The volume is illustrated with a number of portraits and contains a list of books consulted. There are no footnote references, and the index is quite inadequate. A number of misprints are corrected on an errata slip, but others may be noted, as "on" for "one" (p. 238). The "war-whoop" of the United States at the time of the Oregon controversy was not "Forty-four fifty" but "Fifty-four forty or fight" (p. 283).

Minnesota, Its Story and Biography. By HENRY A. CASTLE and board of advisory editors. (Chicago and New York, The Lewis Publishing Company, 1915. 3 v.)

In their origin and root meanings story and history are alike. The former word is used in the title of this work, apparently as a mere synonym of history; but perhaps it is intended to carry a distinct significance, that the theme is treated in the style of the news reporter and editor. Twenty years in Minnesota journalism, between fifty and thirty years ago, gave to Captain Castle the skill and temperament which are discernible throughout volume 1, imparting enjoyable spice and flavor. Volumes 2 and 3 comprise about 1,760 biographical sketches of Minnesota people, mostly

now living, who have been prominent in the activities of state building and development.

Description and history of Minnesota, forming the first volume, are arranged in forty chapters. The first five relate chiefly to the physical geography, climate, early explorations, the Indian tribes and missions, and the fur-trade. Next are five chapters on the composite character of the immigration, from the older states and from foreign countries, by which this state has been settled, on early social conditions, on the boundaries of counties and the origin of their names, and on political history. Chapters 11 and 15 comprise treaties and wars with the red men, records and incidents in the war for the Union and in the Spanish-American War, and a concise cyclopedia of Minnesota chronology from 1362 to 1915. Chapters 16 to 20 relate to the capitol and the state government, to the common school system and colleges and universities, to agricultural education and the state and county fairs, and to Minnesota art schools and collections. The next five chapters treat of the activities and influence of women, of the state correctional and benevolent institutions, of the Minnesota National Guard and patriotic societies and institutions, of mail, telegraph, and telephone service, and of Minnesota journalism, literature, and libraries. Chapters 26 to 30 take up the railway system, banking and commerce and the great industries, religious organizations, and the natural resources and state parks. Another group of five chapters treats of the mainly grain-raising parts of the state, of its dairy and live-stock regions, of its products of fruits and vegetables, and of its timbered and mineral regions. Finally, five chapters are devoted to historical and descriptive notices of the large towns and cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul having each about twenty pages.

In covering so many subjects, of so diverse and wide range, some desirable parts of the narrative are scantily presented or even omitted; and a judicial review of motives, and of the moral or even the prudential quality of the chief actors in the history of the state, is not usually attempted. A complete and critical history of Minnesota waits yet to be published; but we are certainly much indebted to the author of this work for his collection of abundant and very interesting parts of this history, written always in an attractive and instructive manner.

The index, which fills twenty double-column pages, is sufficiently reliable for its citations of biographies; but it would be more convenient if some mark, as an asterisk, were to indicate such as are accompanied with portraits. In respect to other references the index is deficient of some which may be often sought by historical readers. For example, in a perusal of the first fifteen chapters the following references, besides many others, are found needful to be added: Adams, Rev. Moses N., 61; Andrews, Gen. C. C., 122, 185; Baker, Gen. James H., 40, 131; Bemidji, Ojibway chief, 165–66; Brower, Hon. J. V., 2; Carver, Jonathan, 31, 75, 150, 216; Castle, Henry A., 12, 148, 202–8; Donnelly, Ignatius, 120–22; Du Luth, explorer, 26, 37, 215; Flandrau, Charles E., 59, 94, 95; Fort Snelling, 40–46; Gear, Rev. E. G., 57; Graham, Duncan, 39; Groseilliers, 23, 32–36, 215; Hammond, Gov. Winfield S., 132; Hennepin, explorer, 26, 37, 38; Hubbard, Gov. L. F., 120–22, 185; Ireland, Archbishop, 12, 15; Kemper, Bishop Jackson, 58; Le Sueur, explorer, 23, 24, 37, 38, 149, 215; Long, Major Stephen H., 74; McMillan, Samuel J. R., 125, 126; Nelson, Knute, 123; Ordinance of 1787, 75–79; Perrot, explorer, 23, 28; Pike, Zebulon M., 24, 75, 216; Pond, Samuel W., and Gideon H., 60, 61; Radisson, 23, 32–36, 215; Ramsey, Alexander, 125, 130, 131, 174; Renville, Gabriel, 177–82; Renville, Joseph, 66; Rice, Henry M., 117, 122; Seward, William H., 110; Sibley, Henry H., 70, 117, 122, 130, 175; Taliaferro, Lawrence, 153; Verendrye, 23; Williamson, Rev. T. S., 60, 61; Winchell, Prof. Newton H., 2, 3, 8, 9; Windom, William, 123, 129.

For the biographies in this work, and in others sold like it by a canvass for subscribers, accuracy is generally attained as to dates, events, and names, because the details for the editor's use are supplied by the persons who are so commemorated, or, in the case of those who are deceased, by their kindred and friends. Much editorial care is also given to them, that they may receive the approval of subscribers who appear in the biographic list.

WARREN UPHAM

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

At the stated meeting of the executive council on October 11 a paper by Theodore C. Blegen on "James W. Taylor and American-Canadian Relations, 1859–93" was read by the secretary in the absence of Mr. Blegen. This paper consisted of several sections of the article by Mr. Blegen printed in this issue of the BULLETIN. At the December meeting of the council no papers will be read, but a report of the executive committee on the progress of the building will be presented, and an opportunity will be given for the members to examine the plans and specifications. A plaster model of the building, which has been installed in the society's museum, also will be on exhibition. The annual meeting of the society will take place on Monday evening, January 10, 1916. After a short business meeting in the rooms of the society, the annual address will be delivered in the senate chamber by President George E. Vincent of the University of Minnesota. His subject will be "The Social Memory."

Reviews or notices, generally commendatory in character, of volume 15 of the *Collections* have been noted as follows: *American Review of Reviews,* November (p. 636); *Midland* of Iowa City, August (p. 279); *The Nation,* September 23 (p. 388); *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* October (p. 582); *Indiana Magazine of History,* September (p. 276); *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* August 22; and *Duluth Herald,* August 7. The report of the museum committee on the Kensington Runestone, although originally published in separate form several years ago, appears to have attracted more attention than anything else in the volume. Identical notices of this report were published in the *Battle Lake Review,* July 29, and the *Northfield Norwegian American,* July 30. Other parts of the volume were reviewed in the *Minneapolis Journal,* August 15; *West St. Paul Times,* August 7; and *North St. Paul Sentinel,* August 27. The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of September 5 printed a summary, with many quotations, of Mrs. Cathcart's "Sheaf of Remembrances"; and Dr. William E. Leonard's "Early Days in Minneapolis" was reprinted in full in

the *Minneapolis Journal* under the heading "How a Boy Watched a Great City Grow."

Mr. Warren Upham, who now holds the position of archeologist on the staff of the society, is engaged in the compilation of a work on "Minnesota Geographic Names." Including counties, townships, villages, cities, post offices, railroad stations, rivers, creeks, and lakes, there are some five thousand geographic names of historical significance in Minnesota. Mr. Upham is ascertaining, by means of county histories and other publications, records in the county auditors' offices, and interviews with old settlers, the origin and significance of as many as possible of these names, and the results will be published as one of the volumes of the *Collections*. The necessary field work in twenty-two counties in the northern part of the state was done a number of years ago, and the compiler expects to visit the remaining counties during the summer of 1916. It is hoped that local antiquarians will render him as much assistance as possible.

At a "book symposium," held by the Minnesota Library Association, September 17, as part of one of the sessions of its annual meeting, the superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society discussed the opportunities of local libraries for "Collecting Local History Material." On October 28 he spoke before a joint session of the history and civics and economics divisions of the Minnesota Educational Association on "What can be Done with Local, State, and Western History."

Ungdommens Ven, a Norwegian magazine published in Minneapolis, contains in the issue of July 15 an article on "The Minnesota Historical Society—Why of Particular Interest to Scandinavians?" by Theodore Blegen. The article is printed in English.

Building Progress

An unavoidable delay in sending this issue of the Bulletin to the press makes possible an announcement of the actual beginning of work on the construction of the building for the society. The plans as originally drawn made provision in the building for the society, the state archives, and the public library commission. Later, however, in view of the crowded condition

of the capitol, it was decided to assign quarters in the building temporarily to the department of education as well, and this necessitated a revision of the plans and a giving-up by the society of its auditorium and other rooms. It is believed that the state will, in the near future, construct an office building to house its rapidly increasing activities, and when that time comes the space now assigned to the department of education will probably be restored to the society and the state archives.

The plans having been accepted by all parties concerned, the architect advertised for bids October 22, 1915, November 16 being fixed as the date for the opening of the bids. Separate bids were called for on general construction, heating, plumbing, electrical work, and elevators. When the bids were opened on November 16, the figures of the lowest bidders were so high as to make it appear that the building could not be constructed within the appropriation. The bid sheets, however, provided for various alternatives of material and types of construction and by taking advantage of these alternatives, it was possible to cut down very materially the amount of the figures. Certain changes were then made in the specifications for the building, the most important being the omission of the book stack equipment from the ground floor of the main stack room, and changes in the cutting and arrangement of the stone. No changes were made, however, which would seriously affect the first-class character of the building throughout. New bid sheets were drawn up providing for bids on the revised specifications, and the two lowest of the original bidders on general construction were invited to submit new bids. These were opened on November 29 and after a careful consideration of the various alternatives, the general construction contract was awarded on the following day to the George J. Grant Construction Company of St. Paul. The contracts for mechanical equipment were let December 3 on the basis of the original bids and alternatives as follows: heating, to George M. McGeary and Son of St. Paul; plumbing, to M. J. O'Neill of St. Paul; electrical equipment, to the Electrical Construction Company of St. Paul; elevators, to the Otis Elevator Company of Chicago.

The wrecking of the house on the site and the work of excavation was begun by the contractor December 7, and it is expected

that the excavation will be completed and the tunnel to the heating plant constructed during the winter. The contract calls for the completion of the building on or before October 1, 1917, and if no unexpected obstacles are encountered it will probably be completed several months before that date. A description of the building as it is now planned will be published in a future issue of the BULLETIN.

GIFTS

Mr. Victor Robertson has presented to the society a collection of papers, notes, and miscellanies of his father Colonel D. A. Robertson; also a number of photographs of Minnesota pioneers; two early publications on the city of Superior, Wisconsin; a Chinese book; a work entitled *The Jews at K'ai-Fung-Foo,* published at Shanghai in 1851; and several other pamphlets. Mr. Robertson has also been instrumental in securing gifts for the society from others and has taken steps which, it is hoped, will lead to the future acquisition of several important collections of papers.

Hon. Julius A. Schmahl has presented a manuscript copy of a "History of the Newspapers of Redwood County, Minnesota," which he has just completed. Mr. Schmahl was editor of the *Redwood Falls Gazette* from 1892 to 1906, when he was elected secretary of state. It is expected that some arrangement will be made for the publication of the paper. From Mr. Schmahl has also been received a copy of the *Redwood Falls Patriot* for May 4, 1869. This was the first paper published in the county, and no other issue is known to be in existence. The editor of the *Patriot* was Colonel Samuel McPhail.

Mr. W. A. Marin of Crookston has presented a typewritten copy of an interview on October 1, 1914, with Benjamin Dalbec, also of Crookston, containing the latter's recollections of the treaty negotiated by Governor Ramsey with the Ojibways at the Old Crossing of the Red Lake River, October 2, 1863.

From the Read's Landing Association of the Twin Cities through its president, Mr. Fred A. Bill, an interesting relic has been received in the shape of a large United States flag made by

the ladies of Read's Landing, Minnesota, in 1862. The flag was accompanied by a letter of presentation from the officers of the association which contains a detailed account of its history. From this it appears that the raising of a Confederate flag in the village by a party of southern sympathizers in the summer of 1862 called attention to the fact that the Republican Club had no flag, and so the ladies proceeded to make one from such materials as could be secured in the local stores. A flag pole one hundred and ten feet high was prepared by the club, and the "raising" was quite an event. The speaker engaged to come down from St. Paul failed to appear, so "the address of the day was delivered by Judge William Cady, a resident of the village with more than a local reputation." After the war the flag became the property of Henry Burkhardt who took it to Crookston, and in July, 1915, his son Otto Burkhardt presented it to the association.

From Mr. J. T. Gerould, librarian of the University of Minnesota, the society has received a number of copies of old newspapers. Of especial interest among them are the *Richmond* (Virginia) *Enquirer,* April 22, 1863, February 27 and November 9, 1864, the *Richmond Examiner,* June 5, 1863, the *Sentinel* of Richmond, March 23, 1864, *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel Vindicator,* January 9, 1864, and the *Savannah Republican,* June 3, 1865. These will be welcome additions to the collection of miscellaneous newspapers.

A number of scrapbooks and papers of Rev. E. D. Neill, an early secretary of the society and historical writer, together with annotated copies of some of his books, have been received from his daughter Miss Minnesota Neill of Helena, Montana.

From Mr. Robert L. Schofield of Tacoma, Washington, have been received a number of museum articles including a pair of skates purchased in Red Wing in 1856, and an old trunk covered with calfskin which belonged to his grandfather Simeon Dibble of New York and was brought to Northfield in 1854.

The firm of C. J. Hibbard and Company, commercial and view photographers of Minneapolis, has presented a number of negatives made on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone of Capitol and others of the completed building made in 1908.

The firm of Lee Brothers, photographers of Minneapolis, has undertaken to furnish the society with a collection of fine large photographs of prominent people of Minnesota. Lists have been compiled from *Who's Who in America* and other sources, and each individual whose name appears in the lists will be invited to have a picture taken without expense to himself or to the society. It is hoped that all will respond promptly to the invitation, as such a collection, if it can be made reasonably complete, will be of great value, and this value will increase as time passes and new generations come on the stage.

Mrs. John Farrington of St. Paul has presented a number of photographs of pioneer men and women of St. Paul, including those of Mrs. Henry M. Rice, Mrs. William Hollinshead, Miss Eliza Ann Gill, and Colonel Alexander Wilkin. Mr. Charles Borup presented framed pictures of his father Theodore C. Borup and of his grandfather Dr. Charles W. Borup. Both of these donations were secured for the society by Mr. Victor Robertson.

From Miss Delia E. Chaney of St. Paul has been received a collection of books and papers of her father Josiah B. Chaney, who had charge of the society's newspaper department from 1887 to 1908. These include two record books of the St. Paul Academy of Natural Sciences, 1870–83.

A large framed "View of St. Anthony, Minneapolis and St. Anthony's Falls (from Cheever's Tower) drawn from nature by E. Whitefield" and published at St. Anthony in 1857 has been presented by Miss K. E. Hart of St. Paul. The picture is number 39 of "Whitefield's Original Views of North American Cities" and only two or three other copies are known to be in existence.

From Mr. O. G. Hinkleman of Watertown, South Dakota, has been received a souvenir badge of the Philadelphia centennial.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The rapidly growing set of *Illinois Historical Collections* has recently been increased by the publication of two volumes, one of which is reviewed elsewhere in this number. Volume 10 of the set, which is the first volume of the *British Series,* is entitled *The Critical Period, 1763–1765,* and is edited by Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter (Springfield, 1915. lvii, 597 p.). It contains a very complete collection of documents gathered from all parts of the United States, France, England, and Canada, illustrative of conditions in the Illinois country during these years, of the attempts of the British to occupy the country, and of the plans for the organization and government of the interior. Many of these documents are necessarily of significance for the history of the whole northwestern region. A second volume of the series is in press, and three or four others which are to follow in rapid succession will carry the story to the end of the British period in 1778.

The New York Historical Association has recently published as volume 13 of its *Proceedings* (1914. 476 p.) the papers read at its fifteenth annual meeting held at Oswego, September 29 to October 2, 1913. One of these papers, by Hon. James A. Holden, the state historian, is of general interest. Under the title "How the State and the Historical Association may be of Mutual Assistance," Mr. Holden sketches the historical work done under the auspices of the state in the past and outlines plans for the future. The recent combination of the work of the state library, the state archivist, the supervisor of records, and the state historian, under the education department, is dwelt upon, and a valuable survey is presented of the organization and activities of state historical societies and departments throughout the country and especially of their relations to, and support by, the state governments. This survey is based upon twenty-five replies to a questionnaire which was sent to all the states of the Union.

A California Historical Survey Commission was established by the last legislature for the purpose of making "a survey of the

material on local history within the State of California by investigating documents in local depositories and in the possession of private individuals and other sources of original information on the early history of the State of California and to compile and keep a record of such sources of information." The act establishing the commission, which went into effect August 11, apparently contemplates a permanent organization. The three members, who serve without pay, are to be appointed by the governor, two of them, however, upon nomination by the regents of the University of California and the officers of the Native Sons of the Golden West, respectively. Ten thousand dollars was appropriated for the expenses of the work, which, it is understood, will be carried on under the direction of the commission by Mr. Owen C. Coy.

The following information about the situation with reference to public archives in various states of the Union is gleaned from the report of the public archives committee of the National Association of State Libraries, published in the *Bulletin* of the American Library Association for July, 1915. The last California legislature appropriated thirty-five hundred dollars for the purchase and installation of equipment to be used for the filing and preservation of documents in the state archives (*Statutes,* 1915, ch. 354). About one third of the probate districts of Connecticut have deposited their files in the state library, and a part of these, numbering three hundred and fifty thousand manuscripts, have been repaired and classified so that they are now easily accessible. Legislation has been secured to enforce the use of permanent inks and papers for the making of records throughout the state. The regular appropriation for archives work has been increased from fifty-five hundred to sixty-five hundred dollars. In Iowa an index in the form of an inventory has been prepared for nearly all of the seventy thousand boxes and bound volumes of manuscript material which have been classified and filed by the archives department. A more detailed index of the papers of the territorial assembly is in course of preparation. The secretary of the State Historical Society of Nebraska reports that the society is charged with the care of the archives of the state, but has accomplished nothing as yet because of lack of space. In New York several

towns have recently sent their older records to the division of public records of the state library for permanent preservation. Many counties, cities, towns, and villages have been forced by state law to purchase safes or otherwise to make provision for the preservation of their records. Similarly in Rhode Island the state record commissioner has induced a number of towns to purchase fireproof receptacles for their records. In general the report shows that the importance of state and local archives is coming more and more to be recognized, but there is still a deplorable lack of attention to the subject in a number of states.

At the fifteenth annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina in December, 1914, one of the sessions was devoted to a conference on local history at which such subjects as the classes of material to be used, the importance of economic and social factors, and ways and means of securing the preparation of the right sort of county histories were discussed in a very practical way. The papers read at the conference are included in the *Proceedings* of the association published by the North Carolina Historical Commission as number 18 of its *Bulletins* (Raleigh, 1915. 150 p.).

The semi-centennial of the admission of Nebraska to the Union occurs in 1917, and the state historical society has appointed a large committee of citizens to arrange for the celebration of the event. In Indiana and Illinois elaborate plans are being developed for centennial celebrations in 1916 and 1918 respectively.

The Pennsylvania Historical Society has recently acquired a large collection of papers of Jay Cooke. In view of his connections with Minnesota railroad enterprises these papers ought to contain much material of value for the history of Minnesota.

Under the title "Preserving the Records of the West" in the *Manitoba Free Press* of October 16, Isaac Cowie reviews the work of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, including the four volumes of *Collections* which it has published. Attention is then called to the comatose state of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, and it is pointed out that the newer prairie provinces are more progressive than Manitoba in caring for their historical and archival interests. Mr. Cowie is

doubtless also to be credited with the article signed "I. C." in the issue of the same paper for October 9. This is entitled "When the First Railway Locomotive Reached Manitoba Thirty-eight Years Ago" and tells, by means of extracts from contemporary papers, the story of the transportation of the old "Countess of Dufferin" down the Red River from Fisher's Landing in Minnesota to Winnipeg in 1877. The engine and several cars were loaded on barges and towed by the steamer "Selkirk."

Minnesota people will be interested in the articles in volume 15 (just out) of the *New International Encyclopædia* on Minneapolis, Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, Minnehaha, Minnesota, University of Minnesota, and Minnesota River. The historical sections of the articles on Minnesota and Minneapolis contain a number of inaccurate statements.

Forty Years in Canada by Colonel S. B. Steele (New York, 1915. xv, 428 p.) contains "reminiscences of the great North-West with some account of his service in South Africa." Colonel Steele was for many years connected with the Northwest Mounted Police, and his book throws light on the development of the western provinces, the history of which has many points of contact with that of Minnesota.

The Diplomacy of the War of 1812 by Frank A. Updyke (Baltimore, 1915. x, 494 p.) has been issued by Johns Hopkins University in its series of *Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History*. Among the subjects dealt with which have a special bearing on Minnesota history are the proposition for the establishment of a buffer Indian territory between the United States and Canada and the controversy over the boundary from Lake Huron to the Lake of the Woods.

The last section of Professor Knut Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People* (New York, Macmillan, 1915. 2 v.) deals with Norwegian emigration to America and the Norwegians in the United States.

Volume 21 of the *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society (Madison, 1915. 573 p.) consists of a comprehensive analytical index to the preceding twenty volumes of this set.

All workers in the field of western history will find this volume an indispensable key to a well-known storehouse of valuable material.

In the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* Mr. Stiles continues his outline of the classification of the state archives, dealing in this issue with the office of the state treasurer. The number contains also a suggestive editorial on "The Custody and Use of Historical Materials."

"Political Parties in the United States, 1800–1914" is the title of a valuable bibliography by Alta Claflin in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for September.

Students interested in the history of the Lutheran element in the Northwest will find some valuable information in the recently issued *Minutes* of the twenty-fifth annual convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the Northwest, held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 1–4, 1915 (Milwaukee, [1915]. 95 p.).

The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company has brought out *Iowa, Its History and Its Foremost Citizens* by Johnson Brigham, state librarian (Chicago, 1915. 3 v.). The first volume is a narrative history with sections devoted to "Historical Biographies." The second and third volumes are entirely biographical.

Five account-books of the American Fur Company at Michilimackinac, 1817–34, have recently been acquired by the Public Archives of Canada. These doubtless throw light on the fur-trade in Minnesota during that period.

Famous Living Americans, edited by Mary and Edna Webb (Greencastle, Indiana, 1915. 594 p.), contains brief biographies of forty-three men and women of prominence. The only representative of Minnesota in the list is James J. Hill, whose career is sketched appreciatively by Andrew T. Weaver of Northwestern University.

"James H. Shields: An Appreciation" is the title of a brief article by General John B. O'Meara in volume 14 of the *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society (New York, 1915. 393 p.). It is illustrated with a photograph of the statue of General Shields recently erected at Carrollton, Missouri.

Teachers who are looking for material on Minnesota history suitable for use by children should know of *The Story of Minnesota* by Hubert M. Skinner (1913. 32 p.). It is number 521 of the *Instructor Literature Series* published by Hall and McCreary of Chicago and can be obtained for the small sum of five cents. On the whole the booklet is well written and accurate.

Under the heading "A Great American Churchman" the *Nation* of September 2 contains an appreciative sketch of the career of Archbishop John Ireland. The article is in the "Notes from the Capital" by "Vieillard."

The firms which prepare and publish histories of the commercial type appear to be unusually active in Minnesota at the present time. Besides the Lewis Publishing Company of Chicago, which produced Captain Castle's *History of Minnesota,* reviewed elsewhere in this number, at least three firms are operating in the state. Works have been issued recently on Carver and Hennepin counties (together) by Henry Taylor and Company of Chicago; on Stearns County by H. C. Cooper Jr. and Company of Chicago; and on Morrison and Todd counties (together) by B. F. Bowen and Company of Indianapolis. These will be reviewed later in the BULLETIN. Similar histories are announced as in preparation on Renville, Redwood, and McLeod counties by Cooper, and on Ottertail, Grant and Douglas, Nicollet and Le Sueur, and Brown by Bowen.

On August 26 and 27 in the open-air stadium of Anoka was staged an elaborate historical pageant, reproducing in fifteen tableaux representative scenes of the town's history from the earliest times. The pageant was written by Roe G. Chase of the *Anoka Herald,* and the task of presenting it was undertaken by fifteen clubs and organizations of Anoka. Over three hundred persons took part in the different tableaux. An idea of the character of the production may be gained from the subjects of the scenes represented: the mound-builders; the coming of the Indians; the coming of the white man, 1659; the coming of Father Hennepin, 1680; Captain Jonathan Carver, 1766; the new town started, 1852; the first Fourth of July celebration, 1855; the first volunteer, April 15, 1861; Company A, Eighth Minnesota

Infantry, 1862; during the war, 1863; the heroes return, 1865; the town burns, 1884; and the pioneers.

The Old Trails Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, has placed upon the walls of the historic round tower at Fort Snelling a bronze tablet in memory of Colonel Henry Leavenworth and his command of one hundred men, who, in 1819, were the first soldiers to occupy the reservation. The unveiling of the tablet took place on September 11, 1915, in the presence of several hundred people. Mrs. Richard Chute, a member of the chapter and a resident of the state since territorial days, presented the tablet to the United States and to the state of Minnesota. Major John F. Madden, commandant at the post, made the speech of acceptance on behalf of the United States, and Governor W. S. Hammond, on behalf of the state. In the principal address Mrs. James T. Morris, regent of the Old Trails Chapter, sketched the history of the Fort Snelling reservation; former Governor S. R. Van Sant spoke on "What the Mississippi has Meant to Our Country," and Levi Longfellow, on "Minnesota's Part in the Civil War." One of the most interesting features of the occasion was the placing of sixty wreaths of white roses about the tablet in memory of the sixty unknown soldiers of Colonel Leavenworth's command who died during the winter of 1819–20, by a band of children, most of whom were descendants of Minnesota pioneers.

The November 3 issue of the *Manitoba Free Press* gives an account of the Indian Treaty Memorial which was to be unveiled on November 9 at Fort Qu'Appelle. The monument was erected by the Saskatchewan branch of the Western Art Association and commemorates the signing of the first treaty between the government of Great Britain and the Indians of the Northwest territories, September 15, 1874, by which territory comprising the greater part of the present province of Saskatchewan was surrendered by the Indians.

To commemorate the sixty-seventh anniversary of the Stillwater convention of August 26, 1848, which drew up and presented to Congress a memorial asking the organization of the territory of Minnesota, the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Asso-

ciation planned an old-time river-men's excursion down the Mississippi from St. Paul to Stillwater, August 25, 1915. Nearly three hundred persons made the trip, among them about one hundred and fifty of the "real territorials, including most of the old captains." Among those on board was Auguste L. Larpenteur of St. Paul, the sole surviving delegate to the 1848 convention. Incidents of the trip and bits of talk reminiscent of early days are interestingly reported by the *Minneapolis Journal* of August 26 under the heading "Three Pioneers Tell about Beginning of Minnesota."

The nineteenth annual convention and reunion of the Norwegian Pioneers' Association of America was held at Red Wing, October 7 and 8, 1915. Many of the early Norwegian settlers of Goodhue, Pierce, and Wabasha counties attended the meetings. The convention closed with a banquet, attended by some one hundred persons, at which a number of interesting reminiscent and patriotic speeches were given by notable men of Norwegian nationality.

The forty-first annual convention of the St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association was held in Stillwater, September 15, 1915. An invitation was extended to all territorial pioneers who came to Washington County prior to 1850 to attend the meeting. Sixteen persons were present.

Special services were held in Fergus Falls, October 30 and 31, 1915, to commemorate the forty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Swedish Baptist Church of that city. The October 30 issue of the *Fergus Falls Journal* contains a brief historical sketch of the church and of the part it has played in the social and religious life of the community.

The *Minneapolis Journal* of September 22 announced the excavation near Minnehaha Falls of a large stone slab with what afterwards proved to be the Spanish coat of arms carved upon it. Considerable interest was aroused by the "find," and it was exploited at length in the newspapers with elaborate speculations as to its origin. Theories connecting it with the expeditions of Coronado, De Soto, and Cabeza de Vaca became untenable when it was pointed out that the fleur-de-lis which appears on a small

medallion in the center of the carving was not a part of the Spanish coat of arms until after the accession of the Bourbon-Angevin line to the Spanish throne in 1701. An enterprising newspaper writer then put forth the theory that the stone was set up by survivors of a "lost expedition" from Santa Fe in 1720. The "mystery" was cleared up about a month later, when a police officer in Minneapolis, who had been a private in the United States army in the Philippines, announced that the stone was brought from the Philippines to Fort Snelling by an officer of the Twenty-first United States Infantry in 1902. Later it was discarded, and two privates carried it off and hid it in the bushes. From other evidence it appears that a resident of the neighborhood took possession of the stone about nine years ago and used it as a doorstep to his house for a number of years. When the house was demolished, the stone doubtless fell into the cellar, whence it was "excavated."

The letter from Aaron Foster published in the "Selections from the Murray Papers" in the last issue of the BULLETIN contains a reference to a Dr. Day among the "St. Paul Boys" in Leavenworth and a footnote states that this was "probably Dr. David Day." To Dr. John M. Armstrong of St. Paul, who has a wealth of lore about Minnesota medical history at his command, we are indebted for the following information. The Dr. Day referred to was Dr. John Harvey Day, a brother of Dr. David Day. The former was born in Virginia in 1816. He arrived in St. Paul in 1851 after a brief residence in Stillwater, probably to take up the practice of his brother who went to Long Prairie to serve as physician to the Winnebago Indians. Dr. J. H. Day served in the territorial legislature in 1854 and in September of that year moved to Leavenworth. Later he removed to Walla Walla, Washington, where he died in 1897. Dr. Armstrong gives as reference the *Minnesota Pioneer,* October 16, 1851, May 2 and August 19, 1854.

MINNESOTA PUBLICATIONS

The *Yearbook* of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor (1915. 79 p.) contains a "History of the Labor Movement of Minnesota" compiled by W. E. M'Ewen, historian of the federa-

tion and formerly state commissioner of labor. This is an expansion of a briefer sketch published in the preceding *Yearbook*, the additional matter relating principally to the activities of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly from 1882 to 1893. The work is a collection of data and documentary materials rather than a history, but it will be useful to students of the subject. It is worthy of note that the early records of many important organizations, including the state federation itself, are reported as lost. The only way to insure the preservation of such material is to deposit it in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society or some other institution equipped with the facilities for caring for it. The compiler found in the society's library copies of the charter of the second trade union organized in Minnesota, in 1859, and of the constitution and by-laws of a local union of the Working Men's Association of the United States, organized in 1873. These are important documents, and it is doubtful if other copies are in existence. Besides the *Yearbook* the federation has published the *Proceedings* of its thirty-third convention held at Winona, July 19–21, 1915 (144 p.).

A *Bulletin for Teachers of History,* by Dr. August C. Krey, has been issued by the University of Minnesota as number 7 of its *Current Problems* series (Minneapolis, 1915. 20 p.). It treats critically of such important topics as the teacher's preparation, materials for the history course, and methods of teaching. The many practical suggestions are accompanied by concrete bibliographical references. The importance of local history as a field for advanced work on the part of high-school teachers and students is indicated, and it is pointed out that the cultivation of this field brings the teacher and the community into direct contact. Attention is called to the work of the Minnesota Historical Society and especially to the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN.

A very useful *Bibliography of Minnesota Mining and Geology,* by Winifred Gregory, has been issued by the Minnesota School of Mines Experiment Station as number 4 of its *Bulletins* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1915. 157 p.). It contains nearly a thousand items, many with annotations, and covers not only books but articles in periodicals and collections of various

sorts. A comprehensive index adds materially to the value of the work.

Barley Investigations, by C. P. Bull of the division of agronomy and farm management of the Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, has been issued by the station as *Bulletin 148* (University Farm, St. Paul, 1915. 47 p.). Mr. Bull is also the author of *Bulletin 149,* entitled *Corn,* part 1 of which deals with the relation of cultivation to the yield and character of the crop, and part 2 with the relation of the number of stalks per hill to the yield (University Farm, St. Paul, 1915. 23 p.). In *Bulletin 150* on *Tobacco-Growing in Minnesota* (University Farm, St. Paul, 1915. 47 p.) Mr. Bull gives the results of the investigations which have been conducted in the state since 1910 with a view to stimulating the production of tobacco for market; the grades best suited to the soil and climate of Minnesota are described, and directions for the care and cultivation of the growing crop and for the harvesting, curing, and marketing of the matured plants are given in detail.

The Lawyers' Coöperative Publishing Company has issued volume 129 of *Minnesota Reports* (St. Paul, 1915. xx, 644 p.) covering cases argued and determined in the supreme court from March 5 to June 4, 1915. Henry Burleigh Wenzell is the reporter.

A book which will be most useful to those visiting St. Paul and to its own citizens, as well as of value to its future historians, is *The City of Saint Paul and Vicinity,* issued by George F. C. Paul (St. Paul, c. 1915. 173 p.). The topics treated are arranged alphabetically, and the volume contains maps and numerous illustrations.

Wheat and Flour Primer, an attractive booklet issued by the Washburn-Crosby Company of Minneapolis (20 p.), is written, as its title indicates, for children; in simple words the history of a grain of wheat is traced from the time of its sowing until, after passing through the various stages of the milling process, it leaves the mill in the form of flour.

The *Irish Standard* published in September its thirtieth anniversary number (Minneapolis, 1915. 184 p.). Besides papers and editorial comments of especial interest to Irish-Americans and

communicants of the Roman Catholic Church, the volume contains descriptive articles, including brief historical statements, on one hundred and twenty-seven leading cities and towns of Minnesota and North Dakota. Portraits of prominent Catholic churchmen and numerous other illustrations contribute to the value of the publication.

The *Seventh Year-Book* of the St. Paul Institute (St. Paul, 1915. vi, 204 p.) records the progress made during the year ending May 31, 1915, along the various lines of institute activity: literary, scientific, artistic, musical, and educational. Some account is given also of the origin of the institute and what it was able to accomplish in its early years from 1908 to 1913, including a description of its museum and art gallery and of its evening schools.

The *Twenty-sixth Annual Report* of the Great Northern Railway Company is a complete and valuable statement of the resources, earnings, and cost of maintenance of the Great Northern system for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915 (49 p.).

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Minnesota has issued the *Minutes* of its thirty-ninth annual meeting held at Fairmont, August 24–27, 1915 (Minneapolis, 1915. 154 p.). The volume contains a detailed report of the various activities of this organization.

The commissioner of insurance, S. D. Works, has transmitted to the governor of the state the *Forty-fourth Annual Report* of the insurance department covering the year ending June 1, 1915 (Minneapolis, 1915. 230 p.).

The St. Paul Seminary has issued its *Register* for 1915, containing announcements of its courses of study for the year 1915–16 ([St. Paul, 1915.] 108 p.).

Number 8 of volume 3 of *Ah La Ha Sa,* a publication issued monthly during the school year by the students of Albert Lea High School, is the *Annual* for 1915.

Dr. Daniel Avery Langworthy of Minneapolis, who was a captain in the Eighty-fifth New York Volunteers during the Civil War, has written a most interesting account of his experiences in

the war under the title *Reminiscences of a Prisoner of War and His Escape* (Minneapolis, 1915. 74 p.).

Plays of the Pioneers, a Book of Historical Pageant-Plays by Constance D'Arcy Mackay (New York, 1915. 175 p.) contains, besides the six plays, directions for costuming and producing outdoor pageants. Of the plays, "The Passing of Hiawatha" has a special interest for Minnesota people, but "The Pioneers," which brings out in allegory the struggles and achievements of those who conquered the American wilderness, would be appropriate for production in any American community.

"The Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony, Later Named Fort Snelling" is the title of an article by Warren Upham in the July issue of the *Magazine of History*. Attention is called to a map drawn in 1823 or 1824 by one of the officers of the fort and found among the papers of General Sibley. On this map seven of the lakes and an island bear the Christian names of pioneer women. The article attempts to identify each of the women thus commemorated and presents considerable biographical and genealogical data about the families residing at the fort.

An article by Dr. J. S. Young of the political science department of the University of Minnesota, entitled "Administrative Reorganization in Minnesota," appeared in the *American Political Science Review,* 9: 273 (May, 1915). Dr. Young's paper is a study of the work of the efficiency and economy commission. A few separates have been issued.

The Minnesotan is the title of a new Minnesota periodical, the first issue of which appeared in July, 1915. It is the official publication of the Minnesota State Art Commission and will be issued monthly. *The Minnesotan* will serve the people of the state by offering suggestions in regard to home building, home furnishing, landscape gardening, community development, and the industrial and commercial arts.

The Minnesota State Normal Board has begun the publication of a *Quarterly Journal,* the first number appearing in October, 1915. It is edited by the presidents of the normal schools and is devoted to the interests of elementary education.

The week of October 10 to 16 was observed throughout the state as "Minnesota newspaper week," the papers very generally issuing special editions devoted to setting forth the resources and advantages of Minnesota and of their respective localities. The addition of brief county and town histories and of reminiscent articles by early settlers contributed to make these editions of value to the student of Minnesota history. Among the more important of the articles containing historical data may be noted: "The First Settlers, a Pioneer's Story of the Settlement of Stevens County" in the *Morris Sun,* October 14; "Reminiscent," an article setting forth in chronological order the leading facts in the history of Brown County, in the *Springfield Advance,* October 14; "Hardships and Trials of the Early Settlers have Gone," a history of Jackson County taken from a souvenir edition of the *Jackson Republic* of March 1, 1895, reprinted in the *Lakefield Standard,* October 14; "A Brief Sketch of the Early History of Rock County" and "A Brief Sketch of the Early History of Hills," extracts from A. P. Rose's *History of Rock and Pipestone Counties* (Luverne, 1911), in the *Hills Crescent,* October 14; "Pioneer Days," an account of early days in Nobles County, in the *Adrian Democrat,* October 15; "From the Days of the Flail and Hand Corn Planter to Progressive Farming," describing primitive agricultural conditions in Renville County, in the *Morton Enterprise,* October 14; "How Fairfax Received Its Name," in the *Fairfax Standard,* October 14; "Early History of Rush City," a composite paper prepared, it is interesting to note, by the high-school class in American government, in the *Rush City Post,* October 15; "City of Le Sueur, Its Early History" in the *Le Sueur News,* October 14; "Description of Cannon Falls Twenty-nine Years Ago," a reprint from the *Cannon Falls Beacon* of April 9, 1886, in the *Beacon,* October 15; "An Historical Glimpse of the Village of Elgin" and "Founders of Elgin" in the *Elgin Monitor,* October 15; "How Slayton Came to Be" and an account of the settlement of the village of Avoca in the *Murray County Herald,* October 15; and a history of Murray County and of its towns and villages in the *Slayton Gazette,* October 14.

Among other articles which have appeared in recent issues of the newspapers of the state, describing incidents of early local history or recalling early experiences of state-wide significance

may be noted the following: "Austin in Ye Olden Times," by "An Old Timer," in the *Mower County Transcript-Republican,* October 20; "History of Eden Lake Township" in the *Eden Valley Journal,* October 28; "Melrose First Settled in 1856," in the *Melrose Beacon,* August 19; "The Big Blizzard of 1880," in the *Minneota Mascot,* October 15; "Early Resident Tells of Raid by Indians," by George C. Canfield in the *Northfield Norwegian American,* July 30; "Visits Scenes after Fifty Years," an account of the overland journey of Company H, Sixth Minnesota Infantry, from Fort Snelling to Fort Ripley in 1862 and of the building of a stockade at the latter post, in the *Brainerd Dispatch,* September 24; "Files of Old Newspapers Tell of Hanging of Three Indians," by John Coates of St. Cloud, who clears up some points of dispute in regard to this event which occurred near Little Falls, August 19, 1857, in the *St. Cloud Journal-Press,* September 4; "Early Minnesota Mothers Knew," by C. M. B. Hatch of Minneapolis, a member of Hatch's Battalion organized in 1863 to round up and capture renegade Indian bands along the Minnesota border in the Red River country, in the *Minneapolis Daily Tribune,* August 22; "A Survivor of the Little Crow Massacre," by John A. Humphrey of St. Paul, an account of the events of the memorable week of August 19–26, 1862, which he, a boy of twelve, passed within the walls of Fort Ridgely, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* September 12.

The *Northfield Independent's* issue of September 16 was an elaborate number of forty pages, the home trade edition. In its leading article, entitled "The Old and the New," are gathered reminiscences of several of Northfield's pioneer citizens, and throughout the paper are personal sketches of many of its early settlers. In the Minnesota week edition of October 14 Mrs. M. W. Skinner "Writes of Early Days of Minnesota," and in the October 21 issue of the *Independent* appeared a short sketch of W. G. Campbell, a well-known Northfield pioneer.

In a communication to the *Martin County Independent* of September 18, A. N. Fancher describes the locust scourge which in 1873 almost wholly destroyed the crops in several of the counties of southwestern Minnesota. Accompanying Mr. Fancher's account is a copy of an article by L. F. Brainerd, a Martin County

pioneer, which appeared in the *Janesville Argus,* August 25, 1874, the original manuscript of which is now in the possession of J. Mapson of Center Creek. Another article by Mr. Fancher, with the suggestive title "Primitive were Gospel Methods in Pioneer Days," appeared in the *Fairmont Sentinel* of September 29.

The important part played by Young America in early territorial days as a trading and stopping post in the trail from Mendota by way of Lac qui Parle, Big Stone, and Red River to Selkirk is told by J. F. Rosenwald in a letter published in the *Young America Eagle,* August 20, and reprinted in the *Madison Western Guard,* September 3. This trail was more used than any other in the Northwest, and was one of the most important agencies in the development of this entire region.

The September 15 issue of the *Martin County Independent* contains an account of an early fort built at Fairmont in 1862 as a protection against hostile Indian attacks. The article closes with an extract from Judge Lorin Cray's "Experiences in Southeastern Minnesota, 1859 to 1867," published in volume 15 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections.* Judge Cray was a member of Company D of the Ninth Minnesota Infantry which was stationed at Fairmont in the summer of 1863. In the August 21 issue of the *Mankato Free Press* Judge Cray tells of the construction of a sod fort at Judson by his company in the spring of the same year.

The Old Settlers' Association of Ottertail County through its county historian L. R. Adley, some time ago sent out circular letters to the pioneer settlers of the county, asking them to send in accounts of their personal recollections of early days. Some of the replies have been appearing in the columns of the *Fergus Falls Weekly Journal:* in the July 1 issue under the title "Days of Long Ago" County Commissioner Andrew Johnson relates his experiences in the county in 1873; and in the August 12 issue A. J. Pierce in "Early Experiences" tells of the settlement of the town of Paddock.

Colonel J. A. Everett of Fairmont completed in the September 18 issue of the *Martin County Independent* a series of articles entitled "Reminiscences from the Civil War" which have been appearing at weekly intervals beginning with the June 12 issue.

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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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THE SOCIAL MEMORY[1]

The social function of a society like that under whose auspices we meet this evening is coming to be more consciously defined. An organizing and directing purpose, a conviction of opportunity and obligation are as necessary in this as in other undertakings. The collecting of books and other records, the pursuit of genealogies, the gathering of personal reminiscences may easily become desultory and aimless unless all is done in accordance with a recognized duty, a well-considered program, and a consistent plan. Let us consider briefly the place and duty of an historical society in our social order.

We are tempted when we seek to give meaning to any kind of activity to resort to metaphor and analogy. Thus human speech is full of fossil poetry. The simile-making habits of mankind have dealt with societies and nations. Polybius asserted that a whole people passes from youth, through manhood, to old age and death. Hobbes saw in society a huge creature made up of a multitude of men. Spencer traced in minute detail the analogy between an animal body and the social organism. Washington has given us a mechanical figure. "A Federal Government," he said, "is the main-spring which keeps the clock of the States going." Of late, philosophers have pushed the likeness into the psychic field. Such phrases as "the public mind," "the popular will," suggest a parallel between society and personality. Thus a society becomes a vast ongoing common life with habits, memories, character, and purpose.

A state or nation, looked at in this way, has a tradition, a history which may be likened to the memory of the individual. Nor is the parallel wholly fanciful. A group of people is bound together by consciousness of a common past experience. Initiation is admission to a share in this memory. By ceremonials,

[1] Abstract of an address given at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 10, 1916.

festivals, celebration of anniversaries a society refreshes its recollection of the past and renews its loyalty, hope, and purpose. We shall for a little time seek suggestions from this likeness between national or state history and the personal memory.

Without memory there can be no personality; without history no real nation or state. The loss of individual memory is an actual destruction of the self. No event in personal life has meaning until it is explained by past experience. So it is with a society; only a knowledge of its history gives a clue to its character. The United States can have no real significance to a mind that knows naught of Washington, of Marshall, of Lincoln, and of the things for which they stand. Minnesota is to us only a name unless it conjures up a procession of red men, voyageurs, missionaries, pioneers of settlement, organizers of institutions, immigrants, leaders of men, gradually creating a commonwealth. We can not realize ourselves as a group unless, in imagination, we can picture the onward sweep of events, the pageant of the past which has made us what we are.

A vague or fallacious memory weakens personality and impairs efficiency. In the same way, if citizens have a fragmentary and false picture of their country's history, the nation will lack true unity and fail to respond wisely to new issues. A people and its leaders may be ignorant of the past or misinterpret it, and so lack stability and strength of group character. The misinterpretation of the past may lead to a dangerous self-satisfaction and an intolerable priggishness in an individual. So a people, by refusing to face frankly its mistakes, may suffer from arrogance and fall into a fool's paradise.

Memory fosters pride, which is a condition of achievement. The man who brings things to pass gains courage from the memory of his successes, just as he attains humility by frank recollection of his failures. Sound national or state pride is a spur to effort and a means of progress. It is well to distinguish between vanity and pride. The former is mere anxiety to win admiration; the latter springs from obligation to be true to

character, loyal to the past. Vain boasting is a different thing from self-reliant pride which stirs sentiment, releases power, and spurs to action. True state pride values the character, standards, ideals, solid achievements of its citizenship. State vanity is likely to think of numbers, natural resources, or spectacular and ephemeral notoriety. Vanity has a roving eye for the praise of others; pride looks within for purpose and courage.

Memory selects and preserves vivid and vital experiences; it forgets the trivial and unimportant. So the national history perpetuates essential things. Heroes in due time become types; their virtues are exalted; their weaknesses ignored. Governor Ramsey doubtless had his weaknesses and shortcomings, but his fearless stand for the conservation of school lands makes him an inspiring type of the citizen who has a keen sense of public interest and welfare as opposed to private selfishness and desire to exploit the common domain.

Memory is preserved and deepened by symbols, by repetitions, by conscious thought. A society that would perpetuate its history must be ever vigilant and resourceful. Flags, pictures, monuments play a vital part. Anniversaries, memorial days, festivals, historic pageants vivify the social memory. These celebrations must not be permitted to become mere unconscious routine; they must not degenerate into holidays for pleasure and recreation. Just as the individual can not safely allow his memory to grow dim, to lose its power over his imagination, its influence upon his character, so the nation or state can not with impunity neglect the means for keeping the sense of the past vivid in the minds of all its citizens.

Memory can not serve the future until imagination has translated the past into new ideals and purposes. Historical conditions never repeat themselves. Every new situation is in some sense unique. Old heroism has to be translated into new courage. The valor of war must be turned into the virtues of peace. War is drastic. It rushes on to climax and decision.

It has moments of great achievement. It culminates in victory or defeat.

The new civic heroism works under other conditions. These too often seem commonplace. They make little appeal to the romantic imagination. There is doubtless some likeness between the battle of arms and the struggle for safer sanitary conditions, better housing, and the protection of women and children, for public recreation, for political reform, for justice, tolerance, and good will. It requires, however, a resourceful imagination to hold this likeness steadily before the mind and to turn fancy into conduct. Yet the past must be pressed into the service of the present and the future. We hope to escape the woe of war, but we ought not to want to shirk the discipline and sacrifice which war requires. As we read the past, we must be convinced that it is our duty to discover and practice what James called "the moral equivalent of war."

Memory is a deposit of countless details, a few of them salient and conspicuous, but most of them merged into general impressions and lost sight of as separate items. Thus the social memory exalts a few famous individuals, but at the same time it carries on a mass of personal influences, potent though anonymous. It is a noble service to contribute inspiring ideas and deeds which live in the national memory. Few, if any of us, can hope to have our names carried down by the traditions of the community. Our influence must be merged in the vast ongoing common life.

But I fear that you grow weary of an analogy which may be easily pressed too far. This play of the imagination may, however, make a little more clear these truths: The social tradition is a vital factor of collective life; agencies for keeping this memory accurate, vivid, and widely diffused in public consciousness must be maintained; an historical society gets its meaning and has its task defined in relation to this social function. The work of such an association must be directed toward supplying the data from which careful historical scholarship can derive trustworthy conclusions, and also toward impressing

the popular imagination with the true significance of the past, a lively sense of the evolution of the state as a social unity.

Certain obvious limitations suggest themselves in connection with a state historical society. Minnesota, for example, is not a self-sufficient community, set off from the social fabric of which it forms a part. Our state lines are, in a sense, artificial and arbitrary limits for administrative convenience. Commerce, industry, intercourse, common interests largely ignore these boundaries. Minnesota, from one point of view, seems more a center of a great northwestern province than a distinguishable commonwealth. Furthermore, the Northwest is only a part of the Mississippi Valley; that, in turn, a constituent area of the United States. The nation is commonly deemed the true unit. Local loyalty is, nevertheless, the school of larger patriotism. The life of a politically organized commonwealth does separate itself to a degree from the surrounding area and become a center of memory and purpose for its citizens. The Minnesota Historical Society has, therefore, a specific opportunity and a definite duty.

The function of gathering data for the use of historical scholarship is so well recognized as to require only brief notice at this time. The state archives are so fundamental in this field that it seems expedient and wise to put these in the custody of the historical society. In the filing of newspapers this association has done notable and essential work. The press of a people, when this press is carefully interpreted by experienced scholars, is an invaluable source of information. Pamphlets, posters, broadsheets, announcements of all kinds are worth preserving. Illustrations, maps, graphic material of many sorts yield indispensable aid. The collecting of printed volumes, reports, biographies, family histories, and the like is an obvious duty. To gather, in manuscript form, from the memories of early settlers a mass of personal experience which each year grows less available, is one of the things that should not be neglected. The discovery and classification of old letters, business documents, old ledgers, etc., is very important. In short,

the society, in fulfilling its function as an agency of the social memory, should examine, sift, and preserve all available records of every phase of life in Minnesota and in the adjacent area which forms a part of the larger society to which Minnesota essentially belongs. All of these things your society is already doing or planning to undertake. You need no exhortation. It is to be hoped that ample funds will be at your disposal. Much of the work can be done now very economically; some of it, if too long postponed, can never be accomplished at all.

The task of popularizing the social memory requires the coöperation of many agencies: the family, the school, the library, the press, public ceremonies, anniversaries, pageants, the museum. It is not the aim of this paper to propose a definite division of labor among these agencies. In all cases the historical society ought to be a fundamental reliance. We may well consider, however, certain undertakings which are essential to the success of a plan for impressing the imagination of young and old with a vivid sense of the past in its various aspects—industrial, educational, political, social—a kind of mental panorama or pageant.

Of late two inventions have added enormously to the recording resources of mankind. Photographs and reproductions of all kinds, printed music, stereopticon slides are familiar enough as library and museum material. The moving picture, the phonograph, and the piano player have opened up fascinating vistas for historical collections. The hard rubber record, or at least the original mold from which it is cast, ought to insure, under safe conditions of storage, practical indestructibility. The perforated record rolls are not important. Printed music can easily be reproduced. The endurance of the gelatin film for moving pictures has yet to be tested over a long period, but, if necessary, devices for transferring originals to glass and using these prints for reproducing future copies, ought to be easily worked out. Records, both auditory and visual, are now being regularly made and stored by scientific societies and museums. The Smithsonian Institution in Washington, for

example, has made a large number of records of Indian speech, songs, dances, and other ceremonials. The voices of noted men and women are being recorded and preserved. How much it would mean to us if we had moving pictures taken by Hennepin, Radisson, Du Lhut, Carver, Pike, Leavenworth, and Cass, of what they saw in Minnesota, and could listen to the voices of these men describing the scenes depicted. It is obviously necessary to recognize these new devices for recording scenes and sounds, and to adopt a well-thought-out, systematic policy with respect to the making and filing of the records. Public ceremonies of many kinds, important events, prominent personalities, the introduction of new industrial processes, activities which are disappearing—all form subject matter for record. It would seem to be the duty of the state historical society to assume the task of enriching and strengthening the social memory by the use of these new recording agencies.

There is another important device for preserving the social tradition, namely the historical museum. Wealth of material representing centuries of development has created in Europe many institutions of this character. The National Museum of Zurich is a notable example of collection, classification, and exhibition. The life of Switzerland is portrayed from the times of the lake dwellers up to the present day. By reproductions, models, actual originals, all arranged in an evolutional series, a remarkable effect is produced. Weapons, tools and utensils, furniture, textiles, house interiors, costumes, armor, horse trappings, sledges, carts, carriages, art products in enormous variety, are so grouped that the visitor passes from period to period, gaining a vivid idea of the life of the Swiss people. It is easy to understand why classes from the schools not only of Zurich but of all German Switzerland spend much time with their teachers in the halls and suites of rooms in the Landes Museum, this marvelously illustrated textbook of Swiss history.

There are many other museums of the same general character. The Bavarian National Museum in Munich, the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg, the Historical Museum

in Berlin, the Willet-Holthuysen Museum in Amsterdam, the Maison Cluny in Paris, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London are well-known examples of notable historic collections. The Musée Carnavalet of Paris is the finest civic museum in existence. Many continental and English towns and cities maintain museums of local civic history. Scandinavia has made suggestive contributions to the museum idea. The Danish National Museum in Copenhagen is of the more conventional type, but in both Christiania and Stockholm a distinctive feature has been added. The National Museum of Christiania has an open-air annex in which are to be found original old buildings and reproductions of characteristic Norwegian structures of historic interest. There is also a collection of agricultural implements. Stockholm has attained distinction for several of its institutions. The Northern Museum is one of the city's greatest achievements. This remarkable collection of ornaments, implements, furniture, and costumes owes its origin to the imagination and untiring zeal of one man, Dr. Arthur Hazelius, who foresaw that the older objects would be superseded by modern products, and rescued a great number of articles which otherwise would have disappeared. Thanks to Dr. Hazelius no country can equal Sweden in presenting a picture of early and medieval culture. An open-air annex of seventy acres, known as Skansen, illustrates the national history and ethnography of Sweden. All the flora and most of the fauna are to be found here. One may visit a Lap village, a cottage of the sixteenth century, a Swedish coal mine, a charcoal-burners' camp, a medieval farm and dairy, and old churches. In an hour's walk the visitor passes through centuries and touches every quarter of the land. On Sundays and holidays all the attendants appear in costumes which represent all parts of Sweden. For Skansen, too, we are indebted to the tireless Dr. Hazelius.

How soon will Minnesota discover a man or group of men with the vision and zeal of this Swedish museum-maker? It is none too soon to plan for a Minnesota state historical museum

of the European type. A mere miscellaneous collection of curios and souvenirs will not do. Fancy the fate of a library that trusted to haphazard begging or to desultory, planless buying of books. Imagine the calamity of following a similar policy for a gallery of art. An historical museum must work out a general plan of periods, of types of material, of the classification and arrangement of objects, and then actively proceed to carry out its policy. This work can not be begun in Minnesota too soon. Objects can be had now which in a few years will be lost. An immediate canvass of the state would yield rich returns. Citizens would gladly give significant things if they could be assured that these articles would be preserved.

A complete historical museum for Minnesota would include the ethnology of the region. The Smithsonian Institution and the Field Columbian Museum have shown what can be done with lay figures, costumes, implements, etc., in depicting striking scenes of Indian life. The French explorations afford another topic for graphic representation. Domestic architecture would play an interesting part. Log cabins, sod houses, settlers' shanties, early cottages, etc., with their furniture and equipment, would form a significant section. Models would be used chiefly, but suites of interiors could be arranged as in the best European museums. Costume collections would prove extremely instructive. Nor need one go for the eccentric in this field to a remote past. The "bustles" of the eighties and the balloon sleeves of the nineties would seem sufficiently grotesque to give the costume section an air of antiquity.

Transportation is always an important fundamental social function. A collection of vehicles in models or originals, Indian tepee poles dragging behind a pony, snowshoes, sledges, stone boats, Red River carts, Concord stages, early locomotives, primitive city horse cars, would be as fascinating as the corresponding series of birch-bark canoes, dugouts, bateaux, flatboats, canal boats, and perhaps a stateroom and pilot house, taken from an old-time Mississippi steamer. Weapons of the chase, traps, hunting and fishing scenes would play a char-

acteristic part in the attempt to depict Minnesota life. A collection of agricultural implements from the earliest and most primitive of Indian times to recent days would be an essential feature of the industrial section. The development of lumbering, milling, brick-making, textiles, and other forms of production would be set forth. The evolution of the schoolhouse and its equipment of furniture, books, and apparatus would be material for representation.

Our museum might possibly contain divisions in which the chief elements of immigration could be represented. It would probably be wiser, however, to distribute the objects brought from foreign lands, and have such articles appear under their respective classifications. The lace-making industry of New Ulm, for example, would be classified under household industries rather than in a German division. This would be more in harmony with our American ideals and would more truly symbolize the merging into Minnesota life of many different elements from many different sources.

This brief sketch of a possible state historical museum has not dealt with the question of division of labor and administrative responsibility. A number of interests would be directly involved. The department of anthropology of the University of Minnesota would be anxious to have direct relation to the ethnological section; the college of agriculture to the collection of farming implements. The lumber and milling interests would want to have a part in the exhibits concerned with their industries. Questions of unification, location, responsibility, leadership would arise. It is to be hoped that the sole determining factor would be the best interests of the state as a whole, for in order to be completely successful the museum ought to be a Minnesota state museum.

How far-reaching the influence of such a museum might be made! Not only would thousands of citizens resort to the museum itself, but by photographs, slides, illustrated catalogues, special bulletins, traveling loan collections sent to schools, the museum would be taken to the people. An open-air annex—

possibly on the state fair grounds—might be established, and models, reproductions, and actual buildings of historic interest assembled there, as has been done so successfully in Christiania and Stockholm.

The Minnesota Historical Society, by virtue of its own history and its place in the state, is the natural leader in a movement for a state historical museum. The coöperation of many agencies will be necessary. The formulation of a plan, the imagination, the enthusiasm, the persistence to execute it, should come from that organization in Minnesota to which is intrusted the task of helping to keep the social memory accurate and vivid, a guide and inspiration to the people of the commonwealth. For without memory there can be no personality, without an ever-alert sense of the past and its significance, a people can not maintain its solidarity and translate the experiences of yesterday into the purposes of to-morrow.

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MINNEAPOLIS

LLOYD BARBER[1]

May it please the court to listen to a few words from me in appreciation of our departed jurist, the Honorable Lloyd Barber.

I saw him for the first time in June, 1858, at Rochester, Minnesota, where he had just opened a law office. He was then about thirty years of age, a man in vigorous health and in high expectation of a useful and distinguished professional career. The country round about the town of Rochester was then being settled and preëmpted. Its limpid streams, its fertile soil, and its healthful skies beckoned the industrious to its borders, there to acquire competence and content. A number

[1] Memorial address delivered June 1, 1915, in the district court at Winona, Minnesota.

Lloyd Barber was born in Bath, Steuben County, New York, January 11, 1826. He visited Minnesota for the first time in 1852, spending some time in St. Paul; but as a favorable business opportunity did not present itself, he returned to New York, where he remained for the succeeding six years, devoting himself to the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1857. The following year found him again in the West, and he at length began the practice of his profession in Rochester, Minnesota. In 1862 he was elected county attorney of Olmsted County. In 1874 he removed to Winona and opened a law office which he maintained for nearly thirty-four years. In his earlier years Judge Barber was one of the most prominent men of the bar in the Northwest, and his decisions as judge were widely quoted. He was one of the incorporators of the Winona Bar Association, January 2, 1889, being named as vice-president. From the time of his coming to Minnesota Judge Barber was actively interested in agriculture. On his removal to Winona, he disposed of his two farms near Rochester, and in 1880 purchased a large tract of fourteen hundred acres in Richmond township, Winona County, which he eventually developed into a stock farm. Mr. Barber was married in 1862 to Mary J. De Bow of Almond, New York, who died in January, 1867. In the following year (February, 1868) he married Lucy Storrs of Long Meadow, Massachusetts. His death occurred at Winona, May 8, 1915. Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Winona County*, 1:273, 288 (Chicago, 1913); *Winona Independent*, May 9, 1915. —*Ed.*

of lawyers, among others Stiles P. Jones, Colonel James George, Judge Elza A. McMahon, and John W. Remine, had already preceded him. They were all trained in the old common law practice and held in contempt the new code in which law and equity were merged, but Judge Barber had studied and practiced the Field code in New York where it originated and whence it came through Wisconsin into Minnesota upon the organization of the latter as a territory. His familiarity with this new practice gave him a decided advantage over old practitioners. He was also a man who spent all his spare time in study and, as a result, he was able to speak with precision and authority upon doubtful questions. Courts listened to him with marked attention, and his clients were inspired with confidence. He became the leader of the Olmsted County bar, and his name was honored at the bank.

On July 6, 1864, Thomas Wilson of Winona, first judge of the third judicial district, was appointed by Governor Stephen Miller as a justice of the supreme court. A Republican judicial convention for the third district was then called by D. Sinclair, chairman, for September 7, 1864, at Winona, to nominate a candidate for judge at the approaching November election. Delegates were apportioned as follows: to Winona and Olmsted counties eight each, to Wabasha and Houston five each, and to Fillmore nine. The convention met and nominated Judge Barber; thereupon Governor Miller appointed him on September 12 to serve out the unexpired three and a half months of Judge Wilson's term. There was much talk at the time of giving the nomination to Chauncey N. Waterman of Winona, inasmuch as he was considered equally well qualified and as Winona could be more conveniently reached by the lawyers of the district. But Winona already had Daniel S. Norton as a candidate for United States senator, William Windom as representative in Congress, and Thomas Wilson as a justice of the supreme court, and these sagacious statesmen deemed it unwise to take everything in sight for Winona. The Democrats of the district, however, nominated Waterman,

although he was a Republican, but at the election in November Barber received the greater number of votes, and served out his term of seven years with credit to himself and with satisfaction to the district.

The next convention for the third judicial district was held September 27, 1871, at Winona. Norton had been, in the meantime, elected United States senator and had served from March 4, 1865, until his death July 13, 1870; Wilson had resigned the office of chief justice July 14, 1869; and Windom had been chosen United States senator for the six-year term beginning March 4, 1871. Wabasha, Winona, and Houston counties now for the sake of convenience preferred Waterman for judge and he was nominated by the vote of these three counties. He was elected without opposition, and on January 1, 1872, Judge Barber's judicial career came to an end.

Soon afterwards Judge Barber removed from Rochester to Winona and opened a law office for general practice. But business did not come to him in satisfactory volume. A jurist retired from the bench rarely returns to the conflict and struggles of the bar with that confident air and with that aggressive, partisan vigor usually exhibited by the practitioner and so satisfying to the militant and often revengeful feeling of his client. In his years of service on the bench he acquires a calm, meditative, and judicial attitude. He does not fight his adversary with that desperate valor of the soldier who has burned his ships behind him, and he usually fails as a general practitioner. He must secure permanent employment as general counsel for some railroad or other large corporation, or be driven out of remunerative practice by younger and more aggressive members of the profession. He learns too late the wisdom of the maxim that a lawyer should first acquire a fortune by industry, inheritance, or marriage before accepting judicial honors.

Judge Barber was born and grew to manhood on a farm in Steuben County, New York, in the midst of a lofty and broken country, whose waters in part flow southward to Dela-

ware Bay and in part northward to Lake Ontario and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The hills lift their heads up to the higher currents of the sky, and the decaying mold, which trickles down their abruptly sloping sides, fertilizes the green valleys in between. Fortune was to the boy a stern and rugged nurse. Clad in homespun, he toiled early and late, in heat and cold. But dwellers amid such broken and lofty scenes acquire a love of home, a patriotic devotion to their firesides and green fields unknown to those who inhabit the dull, unchanging plains. Barber felt that love of his rugged home in all its magnetic force. He left Steuben the third time before he grew content to live elsewhere.

When his law business failed to be remunerative, he sold his level prairie farm six miles northeast of Rochester and purchased some acres along the lofty bluffs eleven miles southeast of Winona. There among the towering hills he felt again that unspeakable satisfaction of his boyhood days, when in the old red schoolhouse he recited Sir Walter Scott's tale of that McGregor who would give his highland roof to the flames and his flesh to the eagles before he'd bow the head or bend the knee to the lowland lords of the plain below. He retained his residence and law office in Winona, but in later years the office was nearly always locked, and in 1908 he closed it and returned the key to his lessor.

His life was pure, his purpose noble, his conduct worthy of admiration. The Olmsted County bar in a body followed his remains to their last resting place in Oakwood Cemetery in Rochester, indulging a reasonable expectation that he, once their temporal judge, would find favor with the Judge Eternal.

CHARLES C. WILLSON

ROCHESTER, MINNESOTA

GENESIS OF THE TYPEWRITER[1]

In the winter of 1849–50 William K. Rogers of Ohio (afterwards private secretary of President Hayes), Richard Anderson (afterwards a lawyer of note in Cincinnati), and myself, three Kenyon College graduates, intimate friends, were in Boston, where, as students of law, we obtained seats in the courtroom during the trial of Professor Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman. This famous trial, ending in the conviction of Webster, was long drawn out, and we had a good deal of time, when the court was not in session, in which to become acquainted with the city. One day I visited the shop of an ingenious mechanic named Chamberlin, situated on one of the short thoroughfares leading from the Common to Washington Street, either Summer or Winter Street. I had been working on a new device for a sewing machine in which the fabric was pierced through and through by means of a double-pointed needle with an eye in the center, and which was to be operated by the aid of electricity. I asked this Mr. Chamberlin to construct for me a model of what I had in mind. He, however, advised me, before I proceeded further with my invention, to go to a certain number on Washington Street and examine some machines which he had recently installed there. I visited the place and saw six of the machines in operation. They were being used in the making of clothing and were doing work which was apparently satisfactory. The device employed was a complete surprise to me: a shuttle revolving under the cloth plate by means of which a loop stitch was formed. A careful examination of the machines convinced me that they were much simpler in construction and could be manufactured at much less cost than my own. I returned to Mr. Chamberlin and told him that I should not do anything further with my

[1] Read at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, December 13, 1915.

model and gave him my reasons. "Your decision is a wise one," he replied, "for it would take a long time and a considerable fortune to teach people how to manage the electrical attachment on your machine. There are some men in ——— Street, for whom I have done work recently, who can tell you how difficult it is to educate people in the use of electrical contrivances. You had better go to see them if you are interested in such things."

In accordance with his suggestion I searched out the place and found the men working on a chemical telegraph proposition. While I stood examining the apparatus they were using, there came to me the idea of a writing or printing machine by means of which characters could be produced by striking paper through an inked ribbon with steel types attached to levers so hung that when moved they met at a common center, the paper being fastened to a carriage which automatically moved forward a space after each depression of the levers. The idea was a fascinating one and became so forceably impressed on my mind that I was never able wholly to rid myself of it. I went back to Chamberlin's to talk it over with him and to consider the advisability of constructing such a machine. Before anything was determined, however, I left Boston, and did not return for many years.

In July, 1850, I took up my residence in St. Paul, Minnesota. At first, the activities of frontier life fully engaged my attention and left me no time for making a model of my typewriter, although the idea was constantly present in my mind. Later, on the outbreak of the Civil War, I volunteered for service in the Union army. I served as chief quartermaster with General Thomas in the campaign against General Hood. After Hood was defeated and driven out of Tennessee, we were stationed for a time at Nashville. I had very little to do and, happening upon a German in the ranks who was a clever mechanic, I engaged his services and began looking up material for a wooden model of my writing machine. But the work was interrupted again on my receiving orders requir-

ing me to rejoin my own command in Virginia with General Sherman.

At the end of the war I resigned from the service and returned to Minnesota. Immediately I became interested in projecting, obtaining land grants for, and building the Hastings and Dakota Railroad. In the course of the construction work it became necessary to make some flat cars, and I went to Milwaukee to purchase wheels and other material. The exact date of this trip can not be stated with certainty without reference to the books of the Hastings and Dakota Company, which are at the present time probably in the possession of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railway Company. One day when I was in the offices of the latter company, Superintendent Merrill said to me, "General, you are fond of mechanical contrivances; come with me over to Director Glidden's room and look at a new machine for paging books." A few moments later we were in Mr. Glidden's office where I was introduced to a Mr. C. L. Sholes, the maker of the paging machine, who explained briefly its mechanism and operation. "Well, General, what do you think of it?" asked Mr. Glidden. "It is a very ingenious and well-made machine," I replied; "but its use will, I think, be limited, and the demand for it so inconsiderable as to be quite insufficient to meet the cost of manufacturing it. I have had in mind for many years a machine not more difficult to make than this one, a machine which, when properly made and introduced, will come to be universally used not only in our own country but in foreign lands. The idea came to me one day in Boston at the time of the great trial of Webster for the murder of Parkman, and impressed itself on my mind as one which ought to be worked out. Up to this time my attention has been so fully occupied that I have not been able to give the matter any thought. At present these railroad affairs are absorbing all my time. It is my belief that ideas like this are inspirations to us from the unknown; that on receiving them, we become in a way trustees and that our trusteeship imposes on us an obligation: we are bound to see these inspirations brought to completion.

Now I am going to relieve myself of any responsibility for this idea of mine by passing it on to Mr. Sholes, provided he will promise to make the machine." Seating myself at a near-by table, I drew a rough sketch of what I called a typewriter. I explained how the type-bars were to hang so that the type would strike the paper at a common center through an inked ribbon, and how, at the instant of striking, the paper carriage moved forward one space. "Yes, yes, I understand; I think I can make such a machine," said Sholes. "Very well, I will give you the idea on condition that you make a machine, take out patents on it, and start a factory. You will find customers for all the machines that you and many others are able to make." I hurriedly left the offices with Mr. Merrill, went on about my railroad business, and gave the matter no further thought.

Mr. Sholes, at this time collector of the port of Milwaukee, Mr. Glidden, a director of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company and himself an inventor, and a Mr. Soule, an editor and printer, were the men who were back of the paging machine, and who, at my suggestion, now agreed to take up the matter of the typewriter. The task of constructing the machine was intrusted to Mathias Schwalbach, a German clock-maker employed by Sholes at three dollars a day. As the work progressed, Schwalbach suggested some changes, among others the banking of the keys in three rows. The machine was at length completed, and in 1868 Sholes and Glidden applied for patents.[1] A later model with improvements was patented by

[1] Previous to this date the following patents had been granted for typewriters, or machines similar in character and purpose: In 1714 a British patent was granted to Henry Mill; in America a patent for a "typographer" was obtained by William A. Burt in 1829; the "typographic machine or pen" on the type-bar principle was patented by X. Pogrin of Marseilles in 1833; between 1847 and 1856 Alfred E. Beach in America, and between 1855 and 1860 Sir Charles Wheatstone in England, made several typewriters; in 1857 Dr. S. W. Francis of New York made one with a pianoforte keyboard and type-bars arranged in a circle; and in 1866 John Pratt, an American living in London, patented a machine with types mounted in three rows on a wheel, the rotation of which brought the required character opposite the printing point. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 27: 501 (1911 edition).

Sholes and Schwartz in 1871. It is probable that Edison was consulted at or before this time, since in an article in *System* (10:230—September, 1906) he says: "I helped build the first typewriter that came out. At that time I had a shop in Newark and a man from Milwaukee—a Mr. Sholes—came to me with a wooden model, which we finally got into working shape."

In order to bring the typewriter to the attention of the public, Sholes sent typed letters out through the country. One of these fell into the hands of James Densmore of New York. He went to Milwaukee to examine the machine personally, and as a result of his visit the organization of the typewriter company of Densmore, Sholes, and Schwalbach was brought about. The new company began immediately the work of manufacturing the machines. Densmore, who had put all his money, six hundred dollars, into the venture, took the first one that was completed to New York. The next few months were serious ones for him; reduced to the extremity of sleeping in a garret and of living for the most part on apples, he went from door to door in fruitless attempts to interest some one in the machine. Finally he made a deal with the Western Union Telegraph Company, by which he received ten thousand dollars. Densmore then returned to Milwaukee and bought out his partners, paying Schwalbach three hundred and fifty dollars besides turning over to him the shop and its contents. Later (about 1875) he was able to interest the firm of E. Remington and Sons, gun-makers, of Ilion, New York, in the proposition and placed the manufacture of the machines in their hands.[1]

And so it came about that when I was in charge of the department of agriculture under the Hayes administration, one day the respectable colored man, "old Uncle John," who did duty as doorkeeper, informed me that a man wished to see me

[1] Densmore's royalties, so I am informed, have amounted to over a million dollars. Sholes is reported to have said that he realized from his interest in the machine only about twelve thousand dollars. A serious illness of long duration soon exhausted this sum and he died in poverty. Glidden has also died. Schwalbach is, I believe, still engaged in the clock business.

for a few moments. I directed my assistant Mr. O. D. La Dow to ascertain whether the man's business was of enough importance to warrant an interruption of my work. On his return he said, "It was only a man who wished to show you a machine. I have sent him away." "What kind of machine was it?" I asked. "He said it was a typewriter," was the reply. "Typewriter! Typewriter! Call him back! I have a special interest in typewriters!" I exclaimed. On being shown into the room, the man exhibited a typewriter, *my* typewriter, a Remington model, writing only capital letters. I was much interested in the machine and submitted it to Mr. La Dow for trial and approval. The machine was purchased, being the first, so the salesman reported, to be installed in a public office. Improved models were soon afterwards made in which the type-bars each carried two characters, a small letter and capital. The skillful operation of the machines by my assistants soon made them popular, and their use gradually extended to other offices notwithstanding the ridicule attending the introduction of "new methods of economy in the department of agriculture."

My prophecy that the use of the typewriter would become universal in both our own and other countries has been in these later years more than fulfilled. Indeed, the conduct of present-day business enterprises is possible only through its aid.

William G. Le Duc

Hastings, Minnesota

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Scandinavian Element in the United States (University of Illinois, *Studies in the Social Sciences,* vol. 3, no. 3). By KENDRIC CHARLES BABCOCK, dean of the college of liberal arts and sciences, University of Illinois; sometime fellow, University of Minnesota and Harvard University. (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1914. 223 p.)[1]

Mr. Babcock has long been a student of the Scandinavian element in this country. Since 1892 he has been a contributor to periodicals of articles dealing with phases of the subject, and from these earlier studies has grown the present elaborate monograph on the Scandinavian element. In its preparation the author has utilized extensive materials and authorities. Besides printed sources of all sorts, in English, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish, he has secured "much matter relating to the subject gathered by means of personal interviews, correspondence, and observations extending over a series of years."

He is deeply interested in the problem of the alien, and believes in the careful investigation of the characteristics of each "cohort in the national forces," an intensive study of each immigrant group. Thus can their contributions to American life and character be appraised. For the Germans the monumental study by A. B. Faust constitutes such a work. Recently similar works have appeared for the Scotch-Irish, for the Jewish immigration from 1881 to 1910, and for emigration from the United Kingdom. Mr. Babcock has undertaken the study of one great group, the Scandinavians, who in at least six states of the Northwest have been "among the chief contributors to State-building." He points out significantly that among the twenty-four million immigrants who came to the United States during the eighty years ending in June, 1906, the Scandinavians numbered more than one million and seven hundred thousand.

The author begins with an analysis of the Scandinavian char-

[1] Reprinted by permission from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 2: 440–43 (December, 1915).

acter. Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes have many characteristics in common, such as patience, persistence, thrift, love of adventure, courage in facing the possibilities of the future, hatred of slavery, clear, high ideas of personal and political freedom. No less striking is their adaptability to changes of clime, conditions, and circumstances. Yet there are striking temperamental differences between the three. Mr. Babcock's contrast of the Swedes and Norwegians is discriminative and significant. The Swede is aristocratic, polite, vivacious, fond of dignities, assertive, often brilliant, yet a persistent worker, and capable of energy and endurance. The most striking quality of the Norwegian is his democracy. He is "simple, serious, intense, severe even to bluntness, often radical and visionary, and with a tendency to disputatiousness." He has fire and imagination, and is a strenuous, almost turbulent, worker, but, in Mr. Babcock's opinion, he has rarely developed the qualities of great leadership.

Immigrants to the United States are to be judged by "the character and preparation which best fit men to contribute to the permanent progress of a self-governing people." What is the status of the Scandinavians upon this basis? Mr. Babcock believes they are to be rated high—their character, their literacy, their history confirming him in this belief. One feels that he might well have dealt more fully with the latter phase, the history of the Scandinavians in Europe as a background. The Norwegian constitution of 1814, for example, and the political and literary movements in that country during the nineteenth century undoubtedly exerted vast, though intangible, influence upon the thought of the Norwegian element in America.

In a series of four chapters Mr. Babcock considers the causes for the great movement of Scandinavians in response to the call of the American West, and tells briefly and concisely the fascinating story of the westward wave of Scandinavian immigration. The chapters on Norwegian immigration deal with a subject that has been covered in a thorough and scholarly manner by George T. Flom in his monograph *A History of Norwegian Immigration . . . to the Year 1848*. Mr. Babcock adds a compact chapter dealing with the expansion and distribution of the Scandinavian immigrants during the years 1850–1900, tracing the stream of immigration as it flows out "over the wilderness of the upper

Mississippi Valley and west of the Great Lakes." He points out that seventy per cent of the total Scandinavian immigration came into the Northwest.

The greater and more significant portion of the monograph is in the nature of an interpretation of the contribution of the Scandinavians to America from economic, religious, intellectual, social, and political standpoints. The section on "Economic Forces at Work" is impressive in the mass of facts and statistics which it presents. Of particular importance is the history of the relation of Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish immigrants to the land policy and the development of railway transportation in the West. The value of a particular group of immigrants in the building and development of a region is difficult to estimate because so many angles must be considered. Even economically a purely statistical study must be at best incomplete, for, as Mr. Babcock himself points out, industry, frugality, and intelligence are prime factors. Yet his estimate on the basis of money value is of considerable interest. He values an immigrant over fourteen and under forty-five at one thousand dollars. Then, estimating that eighty per cent of the foreign-born enumerated in the census of 1900 reached this country between those ages, the total capital represented by the Scandinavians on that basis was eight hundred and fifty million dollars. Immigration in the next five years added two hundred and thirty million dollars to this. The total represented "just so much given by the gods of plenty to accelerate the development of the West" (p. 93).

Mr. Babcock's figures frequently do not come down to date. The money estimates referred to above reach the year 1905. On page 102 he speaks of the department store of "S. E. Olson & Co." in Minneapolis, as "one of the largest department stores west of Chicago, and probably the greatest Scandinavian business house in the country . . . which does a yearly business of about $2,000,000, and in the height of the season employs more than 700 persons." However S. E. Olson and Company went out of business fourteen years ago. On page 122 in his paragraph on church services in the Lutheran church, figures for 1905 are used. Those for 1913 were available, and show a great advance in the transition from Norwegian to English. One page 121, also, the statistics of the United church are for 1905. Other similar

indications show that considerable portions of the book were written at least eight or nine years ago, and not thoroughly revised before publication.

In discussing the Scandinavian element from the religious and intellectual standpoint, Mr. Babcock points out their almost perfect literacy; their record in acquiring the use of English; their establishment of church schools and denominational colleges, as well as their loyalty to the American public school. In his account of churches and religion among the Scandinavians, he confines himself largely to statistics. The literature of the Scandinavian Lutheran church, the annual reports of the church synods, and other valuable sources on the religious life of the Scandinavians seem not to have been utilized. This is unfortunate when one considers how vital the church has been for a large proportion of the immigrants from the northern peninsula. It is likewise to be regretted that, while a good estimate of the Scandinavian press is given, no mention is made of the literary activity of the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes in this country, which has been neither inconsiderable in quantity nor insignificant in quality. One fails to find in Mr. Babcock's book the names of the influential literary leaders among the Scandinavian-Americans. Such a discriminative anthology as *Norsk-amerikanske digte,* for example, is not mentioned. One could wish that less attention had been given to the political, and more to the literary, musical, and artistic labors of the Scandinavians.

After a brief statistical examination of their social relations and characteristics, Mr. Babcock makes a careful study of the Scandinavian influence in local and state politics, and of party preferences and political leadership. In the states of the Northwest the Norse have been extremely active in all branches of local politics, no less than in the legislative, administrative, and executive departments of state government. Not a few have risen to high political distinction in both nation and state. With the spread of the spirit of independent voting, the old staunch republicanism of the Scandinavians seems to be undergoing a change. Mr. Babcock criticizes severely, and with good cause, the tendency toward voting and political recognition on a racial basis.

By thus surveying one important element in its development, Mr. Babcock has made a valuable contribution to American history and particularly to the history of the West. His conclusions, after so long and thorough a study, are significant. "In temperament, early training, and ideals," he declares, "the Scandinavians more nearly approach the American type than any other class of immigrants, except those from Great Britain. . . . The Scandinavians, knowing the price of American citizenship, have paid it ungrudgingly, and are proud of the possession of the high prerogatives and privileges conferred. They fit readily into places among the best and most serviceable of the nation's citizens; without long hammering or costly chiseling they give strength and stability, if not beauty and the delicate refinements of culture, to the social and economic structure of the United States" (page 181).

A critical essay on materials and authorities, an appendix of statistical tables, and the index conclude the volume. In arrangement and classification, as well as inclusiveness, the bibliography is the best in its field. The section on documentary sources is particularly good. On the religious life and activity of the Scandinavians it is not so satisfactory. It is difficult to understand why such mines of information as the annual church reports should be omitted. Also, both for the Norwegians and Swedes, not a few congregational histories have been written, many of them of considerable historical interest, which are not included. Hjalmar R. Holand's *De norske settlementers historie* (Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1908. 603 p.), though to a certain degree uncritical, should not, at any rate, have been omitted from the bibliography.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

The Scandinavian-American. By ALFRED O. FONKALSRUD, PH.D., with the collaboration of BEATRICE STEVENSON, M.A. (Minneapolis, K. C. Holter Publishing Company, 1915. 167 p.)

Lacking the comprehensiveness and careful workmanship of Mr. Babcock's monograph *The Scandinavian Element in the United States,* this thesis by Dr. Fonkalsrud, the result of a doctoral dissertation at New York University, is in some respects

a more philosophical interpretation of the Scandinavian element than the former. The historical European background, the significance of the religious activity of the Scandinavians in the United States, their literary and artistic achievements are phases which are treated inadequately or not at all by Mr. Babcock. Dr. Fonkalsrud devotes almost four of his nine chapters to these subjects. On the other hand, he gives only the general outlines of the history of the immigration to this country from the three Scandinavian countries, and barely touches upon the movement of expansion so thoroughly analyzed by Mr. Babcock. Himself a Norwegian-American, Dr. Fonkalsrud perhaps lacks the perspective of Mr. Babcock, but his work is a philosophical study of his own people. He believes that the Scandinavians become Americanized too rapidly, and he deplores the rapid transition from the foreign to the English language. One feels that he is not altogether convincing, however, in the position which he takes in this respect, nor in his thesis that the most permanent and valuable contribution of the Scandinavians to American character and life must come from them as a unified group.

The book is written in an awkward and, at times. somewhat stilted style. Footnotes, bibliography, and index are omitted, and a large number of annoying typographical errors mar the text. Despite these obvious shortcomings, however, the dissertation has considerable value as a supplement to the monograph by Mr. Babcock.

T. C. B.

History of Morrison and Todd Counties, Minnesota; Their People, Industries, and Institutions; with Biographical Sketches of Representative Citizens and Genealogical Records of Many of the Old Families. By CLARA K. FULLER. In two volumes. (Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen and Company, 1915. 302, 406 p. Illustrated)

To a Minnesota man no better field for worth-while, intensive work in history offers itself than the settlement and development of one of the counties of the state. The names of the first settlers, the travel routes, the most striking incidents of pioneer days, the organization of local government—all this material is worthy of being recorded in permanent form. But there are

other things of much greater significance. We want to know where the settlers came from; by what routes and with what stops they arrived at their destination; what induced them to come. We want to know what economic problems they had to struggle with, and to what extent pioneer conditions influenced their political, religious, and social life. If these questions were answered fully and accurately for even one county, we should have a far clearer insight into Minnesota history than we have at the present time.

The *History of Morrison and Todd Counties* is the work of a newspaper writer, and, quite naturally, is journalistic in style. As a whole, the material seems to have been put together rather hurriedly, and it is not well organized. The resulting volumes are not so much a history as a compilation. The writer has gathered together what has been already written and has incorporated it without much rewriting into her own book. She has not searched for or brought out any new material.

For an account of the early days of Morrison County the author has evidently relied mainly on Nathan Richardson's "History of Morrison County," which appeared serially in the *Little Falls Transcript* from February 6 to December 29, 1880. One could wish that she had made more use of the characteristic passages of this history. Richardson was a sturdy old pioneer—a man of strong character and of marked likes and dislikes. His history expresses the pioneer point of view and is therefore valuable not only for what he says but for the way in which he says it. Occasional sentences in it give us glimpses of pioneer life which we can get in no other way; for instance, speaking of the younger Hole-in-the-Day, he says: "He had the pleasure of taking off many of their [the Sioux's] scalps with his own hand, and a very good job he made of it. Some specimens that I saw him bring up at one time included not only the whole scalp, but a pair of ears besides, which, from their appearance, were not accustomed to the use of soap."

The biographies which make up the second volume are based on the statements of the subjects of the sketches, and are, presumably, accurate. They should prove for this reason a mine of information for later workers in this field. It seems unfortunate

that the volume is confined to sketches of living people, and does not include biographies of the pioneers who have passed away.

If the reader is looking for a detailed, connected account of the settlement and development of these two counties, he will be disappointed. If he expects to find a county history of the familiar commercial type, he will be satisfied. In typography, binding, and general make-up the volumes are superior to the general run of works of this character.

CHARLES B. KUHLMANN

Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota (The University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences,* no. 3). By EDWARD VAN DYKE ROBINSON, PH.D., professor of economics in the University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1915. v, 306 p.)

Some years ago Professor Robinson, with the assistance of some of his students in the University of Minnesota, began the preparation of a statistical atlas designed to illustrate the development of agriculture in Minnesota. As the work progressed, however, it seemed desirable to include an interpretation of the facts thus presented in graphic form, and the result is an excellent monograph with a profusion of valuable maps, charts, and tables, and a statistical appendix.

The first chapter, which presents the physiographic background, and the second, dealing with explorations and the beginnings of trade and transportation, are of general interest. These chapters are illustrated by a valuable series of maps showing drainage basins, elevations, forest areas, weather conditions, water routes, military roads, and early railroads. The remainder of the work traces the agricultural development of the state through the periods of pioneer agriculture, 1836–60, specialized wheat farming, 1860–80, and diversified farming, 1880–1900, with a final chapter on recent tendencies. The principal reliance throughout is upon statistics, and the returns of the United States census are carefully analyzed for each decennial period. The figures themselves are given in detail either in text tables or in the appendix, and their significance is brought out graphically

by means of the diagrams and maps. Thus for each census date there are maps depicting, by the dot system, the distribution of population, of the production of different crops, of the various kinds of farm animals, and of the total value of farm products. In each of these maps the county is the unit, and the preface indicates that some difficulty was experienced in determining just what were the county boundaries at the given dates. Taken as a whole, the maps present a moving picture of the progress of population and agricultural development in Minnesota.

Sources of information are clearly indicated in footnotes, and there is a "Bibliographic Note" listing about two hundred items and intended to serve "merely as a guide to some of the more important and readily accessible materials bearing on the economic development of the State." The usefulness of this bibliography would have been greatly enhanced by annotations indicating the character and value of the different works. Unfortunately no index is provided, an omission which is only slightly compensated for by the very elaborate analytical contents table.

A comparison of some of the maps discloses discrepancies which a careful checking of the work should have eliminated. Thus the population maps on pages 46 and 47 would indicate that a number of counties, notably Pembina, had a larger "country" than "rural" population in 1860, although the latter includes the former, and the inhabitants of villages with less than 2,500 population as well. Again, on one of these two maps, the dots for Brown County are all grouped at the eastern end of the county, probably to indicate the part which was settled, while on the other map they are scattered over the whole area. The same system should have been used in both maps. The format of the book is unfortunate. Doubtless the oversize pages are necessary for clearness in the maps, but the text should have been arranged in double columns, for the long lines of ten-point print make very difficult reading. All these are minor matters, however, and students of Minnesota history and economics have cause to be grateful to Professor Robinson, whose career was recently closed by death, to his assistants, and to the graduate school of the University of Minnesota, which supplied the funds for the prosecution of the work and for its publication.

Solon J. Buck

Social and Economic Survey of a Community in the Red River Valley (The University of Minnesota, *Current Problems,* no. 4). By Louis Dwight Harvell Weld, Ph.D., assistant professor of economics, chief of the division of research in agricultural economics. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1915. vi, 86 p.)

Social and Economic Survey of a Community in Northeastern Minnesota (The University of Minnesota, *Current Problems,* no. 5). By Gustav P. Warber, M.A., sometime assistant in agricultural economics in the University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1915. viii, 115 p.)

There has been much discussion in recent years, both in the magazines and newspapers, of the rural life problem. As a result of investigations carried on by agricultural colleges and the United States department of agriculture, and with the more extensive use of modern farm machinery, a great advance has been made during the last fifty years in agricultural methods. Along with this advance is coming the realization that there is an insistent need of bettering the social, economic, and educational conditions existing in rural communities. Recognizing that no constructive program of rural betterment can carry weight that is not based on an intimate knowledge of the present-day life of an average individual in a typical community, the division of research in agricultural economics of the University of Minnesota three years ago began a series of intensive studies of several rural communities typical of different sections of Minnesota. The same general plan of procedure has been followed in all the studies. Members of the staff of the division visited personally the farms and homes of the territory under investigation, and first-hand data as to the economic, social, educational, and religious activities of the people were obtained. From these field notes the statistical results have been worked out in the form of tables, diagrams, and textual comment. The first study by Mr. C. W. Thompson, published in 1913, is a survey of a farming community in southeastern Minnesota "representative of those regions where diversified farming and dairying have reached a fairly high state of development." Of the

two succeeding studies, the first, by Mr. Weld, is a survey of a community in the "large-farm, grain-growing section" of the state, in the Red River Valley; the second, by Mr. Warber, of a community in the cut-over section of eastern Minnesota, "where potato-growing and dairying are the principal sources of agricultural income, and where the farms are comparatively small." In these volumes both a farming and a village community are studied, not so much for the purpose of comparing conditions in the two groups as to show the economic dependence of the one on the other.

In the first chapter of his Red River Valley survey, Mr. Weld treats of general agricultural conditions. The leading facts brought out are the dependence of the farming population on the growing of grain crops, particularly of wheat, as a source of income; the impending exhaustion of the soil due to the reluctance of the farmers to introduce a system of crop rotation whereby the fertility of the soil is increased, but from which the immediate financial returns are less; and the increase in tenancy with the resulting lowering of standards of living and agricultural methods. The second chapter tells how the farming community lives. The large farms, separating their owners by long distances, the mingling of different nationalities and religions, the large number of rented farms, with tenants coming and going, the cold winters, the long hours of labor, and the scarcity of "hired help" are responsible for the noticeable lack of social intercourse among the farmers and of interest in economic, civic, and educational activities. The marketing of farm products is treated in chapter 3. The facilities open to the farmer for disposing of his commodities are adequate, but attention is called to the fact that higher prices might be obtained were the farmers better organized economically. Very few coöperative associations exist. In chapter 4 the stores and industries of the village are described, and the economic dependence of the village on the rural community immediately tributary to it is noted. In the last chapter we learn how the village people live; the various occupations of the heads of families, the comforts and conveniences found in the homes, the recreations and social organizations are described.

In the survey of Braham township in northeastern Minnesota Mr. Warber has grouped his material in accordance with the same general plan as was noted in Mr. Weld's study. However, the agricultural conditions met with in this community differ greatly from those in the Red River Valley. The community is located in the cut-over region where the land must be cleared of stumps before it can be used for agricultural purposes. As a result the farms are small, most of them being only slightly over one hundred acres in extent. They are best adapted for dairy farming; little attention is paid to the raising of small grains, and the potato crop is practically the only cash crop. Economic conditions are hard, for only by careful scientific management can these farms be made to pay a reasonable return for the labor and capital invested. The farmers of this community, however, have learned the value of coöperation, and coöperative associations of various kinds are noted. There is more social intercourse between families and between members of the farming community and the village. The statistics relating to the social, civic, educational, and religious activities are given in more detail than in Mr. Weld's study. Mr. Warber has added interest and vividness to his narrative by introducing comments of the persons interviewed, showing their own attitude toward the conditions and institutions in their midst.

These studies do not attempt to offer any definite schemes for improving the social and economic conditions obtaining in rural communities, but the series, when completed, will furnish comparative data collected from representative sections of the state which will be of invaluable assistance to those who to-day are trying to solve the rural problem. By a careful study of these data "certain fundamental facts will gradually unfold, with the result that sane and definite methods of procedure may be evolved." But it is not alone to the present-day economist or sociologist that these studies are valuable; of equal worth will they be to that scholar who at some future time is to write a history of the people of Minnesota, for he will rank them among the most important of his source material on the life of Minnesota's rural population in the opening decade of the twentieth century.

FRANC M. POTTER

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society was held in the Capitol at St. Paul on the evening of January 10, 1916. The principal business was the presentation of the reports of the superintendent and treasurer on the operations and finances of the society during the year 1915. Mr. Ford spoke briefly on the need of a national archives building and presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the records and papers of the United States government contain an inexhaustible and priceless body of information for the statesman, the administrator, the historian, and the reading public; and,

"Whereas many of these papers, such as the fundamental land records, military, Indian, and territorial records, are also of great importance to the state of Minnesota both from the administrative and historical points of view; and,

"Whereas these papers are now scattered through many repositories in Washington, housed often at great expense for rental in unsafe and unsuitable buildings, exposed to danger from fire, and difficult of access; and,

"Whereas the only true remedy lies in the construction of a suitable national archives building, in which these papers and records can be arranged systematically, found with rapidity, and consulted with ease;

"Resolved that we, the members of the Minnesota Historical Society in annual meeting assembled, respectfully request the representatives and senators from Minnesota in Congress to do all in their power to further the passage by Congress of appropriations for the speedy construction of a suitable building in which to concentrate and properly care for the muniments of the American people."[1]

[1] Copies of these resolutions were sent, as directed, to each of the senators and representatives from Minnesota in Congress, and replies have been received at this writing from Senators Nelson and Clapp, and Representatives Miller, Davis, Smith, Steenerson,

At the close of the business session the society adjourned from its reading room to the Senate Chamber, where, despite the inclement weather, a good-sized audience was gathered to hear the annual address by President Vincent of the University of Minnesota on "The Social Memory."

Membership

The total number of members on the rolls of the society on January 1, 1916, was 435, of whom 21 were honorary, 79 corresponding, and 335 active members. The active members are further classified as 269 life, 51 sustaining, and 15 annual members. There were 38 new members enrolled during the year, 37 being active and 1 corresponding. There were 27 members dropped for non-payment of dues and 15 died during the year, making a total loss of 42. Of these, 38 belonged to the class of active members, 3 were corresponding members, and 1 was an honorary member. It will be seen, therefore, that there has been a nominal decrease of 1 in the active membership, and 4 in the total membership. In reality, however, the 27 members who were dropped from the rolls for non-payment of dues should not have been counted as members a year ago, in which case the increase in active membership would have appeared as 26. It should be stated that several opportunities were given to delinquents to pay up their back dues, and some did so. The names of the remainder were then stricken from the rolls. The Minnesota Historical Society should have a much larger membership, for certainly there are many more people in the state who are interested in its history, and who would wish to be connected with the society if the matter were brought to their attention effectively.

The following active members were enrolled during 1915: John M. Bradford, E. L. Shepley, Rev. Arthur W. Farnum, Harry T. Drake, George B. Ware, Professor Thomas Shaw, Homer P. Clark, Amanda Sundean, Mrs. Mary E. McGill, C. J. McConville, Professor Henry M. Funk, James D. Armstrong,

Van Dyke, and Anderson. Most of those who replied expressed their hearty approval of the movement, but some doubted the possibility of securing an appropriation for the building at the present session of Congress. Members of the society whose representatives' names do not appear in the list would do well to write to them urging their support of the measure.

Frances H. Relf, and Victor Robertson of St. Paul; James T. Gerould, Professor Wallace Notestein, Mrs. James T. Morris, Anson S. Brooks, Professor Albert B. White, N. N. Ronning, Mrs. George E. Tuttle, Professor A. C. Krey, and Wilson P. Shortridge of Minneapolis; Earl W. La Gow, Sleepy Eye; Dr. Howard M. Hamblin, Washington, D. C.; George M. Palmer, Mankato; Henry S. Welcome, London, England; Theodore C. Blegen, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Dr. H. M. Blegen, Oslo; F. Curtiss-Wedge, Winona; Mary V. Carney, Hibbing; Rev. T. A. Stafford, Litchfield; and James M. George, Winona.

The present whereabouts of three of the life members of the society are unknown, letters having been returned undelivered from the addresses on the records. They are Rev. William Gannett, formerly of Rochester, Minnesota; Thomas H. Kirk, formerly of San Bernardino, California; and Charles Eliot Pike, formerly of Los Angeles, California. It is possible that some of these are no longer living, but no records of their deaths have been received in the office. Information about them will be greatly appreciated.

Growth of the Library

The total number of accessions recorded during the year 1915 was 2,232, of which 1,870 were bound volumes, and 362 were pamphlets placed in pamphlet binders. Of these accessions, 956 items were purchased, 123 were received as exchanges, 366 are gifts, not including 156 United States government documents received on deposit, and 371 are volumes of newspapers donated by the publishers, but bound by the society. The remaining 260 items represent material, mostly pamphlets, which has been in the possession of the society for some time, but was not accessioned until the past year. The total number of accessions on January 1, 1916, was 78,854, of which 78,492 are bound volumes and 362 are pamphlets in binders. The unaccessioned material in the library is estimated at 41,000, making a total estimated strength of almost 120,000 books and pamphlets. Most of the unaccessioned material is in the form of pamphlets, many of which are of great value; all except those of an ephemeral character will be put in pamphlet binders and accessioned as rapidly as possible.

In view of the crowded condition of the library, it does not seem feasible to make extensive purchases of books at the present time. Much of the energy of the library staff, therefore, is directed to the filling-in of the many gaps in the various sets contained in the library. Considerable progress has been made along these lines, and it is believed that the value of the library as an historical workshop will be thereby greatly increased.

A Cooperative Venture

The most important materials for the history of Minnesota, outside the state, are to be found in the archives of the United States government at Washington. Unfortunately the conditions in the various archive depositories make the use of these materials very difficult, and in some cases their permanent preservation is doubtful unless the government speedily constructs a national archives building. For some years a number of historical institutions in the Northwest have been searching in various of these depositories for material relating to their respective fields, and have been securing photographic copies of what seemed to be of value. During the past year, however, the historical societies and departments of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota got together and agreed to coöperate in a search of the files of the state department. The services of an expert were secured, and he is now engaged in calendaring all material in these files bearing on the history of the coöperating states. By means of this calendar each institution can select such documents as it desires to have photographed for its library. In the course of time, therefore, it is expected that the Minnesota Historical Society will secure a collection of material of great importance, especially for the territorial period, at a cost which will be small compared to what it would cost to do this without the coöperation of the other institutions.

An Appeal to the Members

Occasionally members are at a loss to know just how they can be of assistance to the society, and a few suggestions may be in order. No phase of the society's work is more important than the gathering-in of manuscript papers and records, old news-

paper files, and fugitive publications, for, once destroyed, such material can seldom be restored. There is hardly a member but knows of or can locate material of this sort and can secure its deposit with the society if he will make the effort. One difficulty seems to be a failure on the part of many to realize that the breadth of historical interests to-day gives value to almost every scrap of paper with writing on it and every printed folder or handbill. In case of doubt whether material would or would not be desirable for preservation by the society, it is always best to send it in and let us see if we can't find some point of view from which it might be of value. Probably every member of the society belongs to other societies, clubs, and institutions in the state which issue regular or occasional publications. Yearbooks, reports, even programs and announcements of such organizations should be preserved in the library, and members can help in this by sending in their own copies or having the society put on the mailing list.

Perhaps one of the most important services which a member can render to the society is to impress upon the people of the state and especially upon the members of the legislature the fact that the society is in effect a state institution; that the work which it is performing is properly a function of the state and should be supported by it; that the appropriations for the maintenance of the society are not in the nature of gifts to a private institution, but comprise rather funds set aside for the state's historical activities and administered by the society. If historical work in Minnesota is to compare favorably with that of neighboring states, a considerable increase in the annual appropriation will soon be needed. The present staff is not large enough to care properly for a rapidly growing library of 120,000 volumes, to say nothing of field work, research, and editorial work. If, as is expected, provision is made for the transfer of state archives to the new building, appropriations will be needed for their administration. The possibilities of historical work are very great at this time in Minnesota, where the pioneers are now passing off the stage. Fifty years hence much of the material existing to-day will be destroyed, and no amount of expenditure in the future can make up for the failure of the present generation to preserve the records of the past and the passing ages.

Gifts

An ornamented hammer presented by Mr. W. E. Mowrey, through the courtesy of the treasurer of the society, Mr. E. H. Bailey, is an interesting memento. It is accompanied by a neatly lettered card containing the following explanation:

"This hammer was used on the occasion of driving 'the last spike' connecting the eastern and western sections of the main line of the Northern Pacific Railroad, at a point 2½ miles west of Garrison, Montana. President Henry Villard of the Railroad Co. had invited a large party of distinguished men from a number of foreign countries, as well as our own, for an excursion over the road, conveyed by four sections of a special train, starting from St. Paul on Monday, Sept. 3rd, 1883, after elaborate celebrations at St. Paul and Minneapolis, and reaching the point of connection on Saturday afternoon, Sept. 8th. After speeches by Mr. Villard, Hon. Wm. M. Evarts (chief orator), Secretary Teller, Ex President of the R. R. Co. Mr. Frederick Billings, Sir James Hannon, the German Minister Von Eisendecker, and General U. S. Grant, at 6:13 P. M., Central time, the last spike was driven by Mr. Villard and Mr. Henry C. Davis, who, it was claimed, had driven the *first* spike at Northern Pacific Junction (now Carleton), Minn. The Telegraph Dept. of the Company had connected one end of the telegraph wire to the hammer, and the other end to the spike, so that a signal would be sent simultaneously to St. Paul and Portland on each stroke. At St. Paul it was so arranged that a cannon was automatically fired in Smith Park by the first stroke of the hammer. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the excursion trains proceeded to Spokane, Portland, Tacoma and Seattle, where enthusiastic receptions were given the party."

From Mr. John H. La Vaque of Duluth has been received a copy of *The First Minnesota,* a paper published at Berryville, Virginia, March 11, 1862, "by a detachment of the typographical fraternity of the First Minnesota Regiment," consisting of "Ed. A. Stevens, Thos. H. Pressnell, O. Nelson, Chas. S. Drake, Frank J. Mead, Julian J. Kendall, Henry W. Lindergreen." When the Union troops took possession of Berryville, March 10, the editor of the *Berryville Conservator* fled, and these men,

being familiar with the art of printing, took possession of the plant and issued a four-page sheet. About one page of new matter, intended for the entertainment of the Union soldiers, was set up, and the remainder of the paper was filled out with advertisements and a report already in type for the *Conservator*.

A large framed roster of "Officers of the United States Army and Navy, Prisoners of War, Libby Prison, Richmond, Va." has been presented by Mrs. Martha A. Gordon of St. Paul in memory of her husband Lieutenant E. Gordon, of the Eighty-first Indiana Regiment, whose name appears thereon.

Fifteen original photographs of Civil War scenes, printed about 1890 from the plates made by M. B. Brady and Alexander Gardner, "authorized government photographers," have been presented by Mr. Wilbur L. Booth of St. Paul, through the courtesy of Mr. Charles Humason of the adjutant general's office.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The first attempt of the French to establish a trading post and mission station on Minnesota soil was in 1727, when René Boucher, Sieur de la Perrière, constructed Fort Beauharnois on the west shore of Lake Pepin, near the site of Frontenac. In the following summer La Perrière returned to Montreal, leaving the establishment, apparently, in the charge of Pierre Boucher, Sieur de Boucherville. Because of the hostility of the Foxes and the doubtful attitude of the Sioux, De Boucherville decided, in September, 1728, to abandon the post. His relation of his experiences on the return journey, including a captivity among the Kickapoo, together with observations on the manners and customs of the Sioux, was published by Michel Bibaud in volume 3 of *La Bibliothèque Canadienne* (Montreal, 1826), apparently from the original manuscript. A translation of this printed transcript was included by Thwaites in volume 17 of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* and this translation is now reprinted in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* under the title "Captivity of a Party of Frenchmen among Indians in the Iowa Country, 1728–1729." The reprint is edited by Jacob Van der Zee, who has supplied some new notes. Part of Thwaites's notes are quoted, part are paraphrased, but others are omitted entirely. The last two pages of the document, as printed in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* containing the "Observations on the Scioux," are omitted also. Nowhere in the reprint is there a reference to the original publication in French.

Some years ago a manuscript map entitled "A Topographic View of the Site of Fort S^{t} Anthony at the Confluence of the Mississippi and S^{t} Peters Rivers" was found among the papers of General Sibley. This was reproduced by Edward A. Bromley in 1904, and Mr. Upham called attention to it in his paper on "The Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony" in the *Magazine of History* for July (see *ante* p. 243). Recently another manuscript map of the same region entitled "Part of the Michigan & Missouri Territories at the Confluence of Mississippi & S^{t}

Peters Rivers, 1821," which was "Presented to Tho. Forsyth by his friend Major Marston 5th Infantry," has been located in the Forsyth Papers in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The two maps are so much alike in general features that it would appear that one was copied from the other, and they are probably the work of the same draughtsman, but each contains some features not to be found on the other. The Sibley map has no date, but has been assigned by Mr. Bromley to 1823. A photographic reproduction of the Forsyth map has been secured for the Minnesota Historical Society.

The *Third Census of the State of South Dakota Taken in the Year 1915* (1168 p.) was compiled under the direction of the state department of history of which Doane Robinson is secretary and superintendent, the actual work of enumeration being performed by the local assessors. Every inhabitant was entered in a population register and also on a card containing blanks for much useful information. As a result of this system "the state possesses a complete card index of all of her people." An unusual feature of this census was the attempt to secure data as to "ancestry," which would appear to have been fairly successful. There has been a tendency of late toward the abandoning of state censuses, due doubtless to the fact that their value has seemed disproportionate to the cost. South Dakota, however, by the application of methods of "economy and efficiency" has secured, for an expenditure of a little over five thousand dollars, a body of valuable population and agricultural statistics. To future students of history, sociology, genealogy, and agricultural economics, the data thus collected will be a veritable mine. The department of history has also issued a *Fifteenth Annual Review of the Progress of South Dakota, 1915* (11 p.).

The *Twenty-eighth Report* of the commissioner of public records of Massachusetts (8 p.) states that during 1915 the officer made "inspection of the care, custody, and protection against fire of public records of departments and offices of the Commonwealth, counties, cities, and towns" in 163 places. One town was forced by court proceedings to procure a safe for its records, and four counties and fourteen towns had part of their records "repaired, renovated or bound during the year . . . in most

instances by order of the commissioner." The use of typewriter ribbons or stamping pads other than those approved by the commissioner, of which a list is given in the *Report,* is a violation of law. The time may come when the western states will be awakened to the importance of looking after the preservation of their records.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for December contains an account of "The Indiana Historical Commission and Plans for the Centennial" by Professor James A. Woodburn. In addition to fostering the various centennial celebrations, the commission expects to publish four volumes of historical material: two containing messages of the governors to 1851, prepared by the Indiana historical survey of Indiana University under the editorial direction of Professor Samuel B. Harding; one on early travel in Indiana, edited by Professor Harlow Lindley of the archives department of the state library; and one on the history of constitution-making in Indiana by Charles B. Kettleborough of the state legislative reference bureau.

A valuable study of "The Indian Agent in the United States before 1850" by Ruth A. Gallaher is published in the January issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics.* This is announced as "the first of a series of four articles dealing with one phase of the history of Indian affairs in the United States with special reference to Iowa."

The December issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the annual summary of "Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest" by Dan E. Clark of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company has issued a five-volume work (Chicago, 1915) consisting of a *History of Dakota Territory* by George W. Kingsbury, in two volumes, *South Dakota, Its History and Its People,* edited by George Martin Smith, one volume, and two volumes devoted to biographical sketches of South Dakota people. The volumes on the territory contain a considerable amount of documentary material of value, much of which is pertinent to the history of Minnesota as well as of Dakota.

A "Report on the preparation of teachers for teaching local and Nebraska history as presented at the State Normal at Kearney" was read by Professor C. N. Anderson of that institution before the Nebraska History Teachers' Association last May, and has been published by the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau in its *Nebraska History and Political Science Series* (1915. 15 p.). The report deals first with the reasons for teaching state and local history and then discusses materials and methods with many practical suggestions.

A useful series of bibliographies of foreign elements in the United States, compiled by Ina Ten Eyck Firkins of the University of Minnesota library, is appearing in the *Bulletin of Bibliography*. Italians, Scandinavians, Slavs, and Irish have been dealt with in the January, April, October, 1915, and January, 1916 issues, respectively.

The Indiana State Library has issued as number 4 of its *Reference Circulars* a *List of Books on Pageants* (8 p.). While confined to material in the library, including books, pamphlets, and periodical articles, it would be a useful bibliography for any one interested in the subject.

A pamphlet entitled *The New Library Building* (29 p.) contains descriptions and illustrations of the building erected at Columbia for the libraries of the University of Missouri and the State Historical Society of Missouri. The central portion of the building was recently completed at a cost of two hundred thousand dollars and was formally opened on January 6.

The January number of the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* contains a popular description of "The State Historical Museum" maintained by the Wisconsin Historical Society in its building at Madison. The article is by Charles E. Brown, curator of the museum.

Under the title "Indian Eloquence in a Judicial Forum" in the *Central Law Journal* for January (St. Louis), Judge John W. Willis of St. Paul presents a dramatic speech delivered by an Ojibway chief at the conclusion of a trial in which white men were convicted of murdering Indians. The trial took place in Brainerd in 1881.

Five graduate students in the University of Minnesota are engaged in research work in Minnesota history: Franklin H. Holbrook is working on the political career of Ignatius Donnelly; Charles B. Kuhlmann, on the settlement of Morrison County; Jeannette Rutledge, on the history of the liquor question in Minnesota; William R. Fieldhouse, on the history of the flour-milling industry in Minneapolis; and Wilson P. Shortridge, on the organization and the changes in boundaries of Minnesota's counties. It is expected that the results of the work of the first four will be presented as theses for the master's degree in the department of history.

The Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association held its semi-annual meeting at the old Godfrey house, Richard Chute Square, Minneapolis, January 8, 1916. The presentation to the association of a pair of snowshoes which formerly were the property of Pierre Bottineau led to the relation by those present of many interesting incidents in the life of this once famous guide.

On the invitation of Captain Fred A. Bill and ex-Governor S. R. Van Sant a number of old-time rivermen gathered at the Hotel Leamington in Minneapolis on the evening of November 11, 1915, and organized the Pioneer Rivermen's Association. The object of the association is to keep alive memories of steamboat days on the Mississippi River; to this end it will collect and preserve historical data about its members.

The Old Settlers' Association of the Head of the Lakes and the Old Settlers' Benefit Association held their annual banquet at Hotel Euclid, Superior, December 8, 1915. About two hundred persons were present. The principal address of the afternoon was given by Colonel Hiram Hayes, for sixty-one years a resident of Superior, who spoke on the settlement of the head of the lakes by white men. A. R. Merritt paid tribute to "The Fathers and Mothers of the Old Settlers" for the courage with which they endured the hardships of pioneer days. In an address "In Memoriam" J. P. Johnson gave some account of the deeds of the pioneers.

Minnesota Publications

As number 151 of its series of *Bulletins* the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Minnesota has issued *Quack Grass Eradication,* by A. C. Arny of the division of agronomy and farm management (University Farm, St. Paul, 1915. 82 p.). *Bulletin* 152, entitled *Farmers' Elevators in Minnesota,* by L. D. H. Weld of the division of research in agricultural economics, is a valuable contribution to the economic history of the state (24 p.). A brief historical sketch of the farmers' elevator movement is followed by a description of its present status and of methods of organization and management.

"Swamp Land Drainage with Special Reference to Minnesota" by Ben Palmer (1915. 138 p.) is number 5 of the University of Minnesota *Studies in the Social Sciences.* Special attention has been given to the legal aspects of the subject, and two chapters are devoted to the history of drainage legislation and swamp land reclamation in Minnesota.

Further Observations on Minnesota Birds; Their Economic Relations to the Agriculturist (24 p.) has recently been issued as number 35 of the *Circulars* of the state entomologist, F. L. Washburn.

The Farmer, a journal of agriculture published weekly by the Webb Publishing Company of St. Paul, issued on January 1, 1916, an *Automobile Census of Minnesota* (40 p.), based on the registration of automobiles in the office of the secretary of state up to November 1, 1915.

Laws of Minnesota Relating to the Public School System, Including the State Normal Schools and the University of Minnesota is the title of a pamphlet prepared under the direction of C. G. Schulz, superintendent of education, by W. H. Williams of the St. Paul bar (1915. 135 p.). The compilation is based on the *General Statutes,* 1913, and the later laws and amendments, and contains all the general laws relating to the public schools which are of practical use and application, arranged by subjects.

Summary of Conditions in the Minnesota Institutions under the Direction of the State Board of Control is the title of a pamphlet recently issued by the board for the fiscal year ending July 31, 1915, which should prove of interest to students of sociology (18 p.).

Volume 130 of *Minnesota Reports,* covering all cases argued and determined in the supreme court of the state from June 11 to September 10, 1915, has been issued under the direction of Henry Burleigh Wenzell, reporter (xx, 652 p.).

The state high school board has issued the *Twenty-second Annual Report* of the inspector of state high schools (80 p.), and the *Twentieth Annual Report* of the inspector of state graded schools (45 p.), each for the school year ending July 31, 1915.

The Synod of Minnesota of the Presbyterian Church has published the *Minutes* of its fifty-seventh annual meeting, which was held at the First Presbyterian Church, Minneapolis, October 12–15, 1915 (119 p.). The volume contains as an appendix an interesting account of the exercises conducted on the evening of October 13 by the First Presbyterian Church in commemoration of the eightieth anniversary of its organization. This church through many changes in name and location traces its development back to the First Presbyterian Church at St. Peters, Upper Mississippi, organized at Fort Snelling on June 11, 1835, by Rev. Thomas S. Williamson—the first Protestant church in Minnesota.

The Minneapolis branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has published its *Thirty-second Annual Report* for the year ending October 1, 1915 (113 p.).

The General Congregational Conference of Minnesota has issued the *Minutes* of its sixtieth annual meeting, held at Waseca, October 5–7, 1915 (104 p.).

The board of directors of the Northwestern Hospital in Minneapolis has issued its *Thirty-third Annual Report* covering the year ending November 1, 1915 (72 p.).

The *Proceedings* of the forty-sixth annual assembly of the Grand Council of Royal and Select Masters of Minnesota, held at St. Paul, October 11, 1915, has appeared (64 p.).

The Minnesota Legislature of 1915 by C. J. Buell (112 p.) is a detailed examination of the work of the last general assembly, similar in character to his book on the legislature of 1913 and to the books by Lynn Haines on the legislatures of 1909 and 1911.

Axel Hayford Reed of Glencoe, Minnesota, is the compiler of a *Genealogical Record of the Reads, Reeds, the Bisbees, the Bradfords of the United States,* recently published (164 p.). About sixty pages are devoted to extracts from a diary kept by the author while serving in Company K of the Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War.

A Minnesota Christmas and Other Verses is the title of a small book of poems by May Stanley (Duluth, c. 1914. 59 p.). The volume is dedicated to the pioneers of northern Minnesota, for whom the author has embodied in verse possessing some charm the beauties of the woods and waters of the north land.

The *Irving Sketch Book* (December, 1915. 60 p.) is an attractive booklet containing stories, poems, descriptions, and compositions selected from the "regular class work of the children of the Irving School, Minneapolis."

The students of the William Hood Dunwoody Industrial Institute of Minneapolis have begun the publication of a school monthly entitled *The Artisan.* The first number is dated December, 1915.

A series of thirteen articles by Louis L. Collins under the general title "Story of the Wards," which is appearing in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Journal,* forms a rather unique and valuable addition to Minneapolis bibliography. The story of the historical and industrial development peculiar to each ward is related in a succession of episodes, of incidents in the lives of the men and women prominently connected with the ward, and of glimpses into its economic, political, and social life throughout its history. The series began with an article on the

first ward in the issue of January 9, and the other wards are being covered, one each week, in numerical order.

Questions connected with the killing of Chief Little Crow and the present location of his skull received considerable attention from Minnesota papers recently. Any one interested in the subject is referred to articles in the *Litchfield Independent,* September 15 and November 3, the *St. Paul Daily News,* November 7, the *Eden Valley Journal,* November 11, the *Silver Lake Leader,* November 13, the *Minneapolis Journal,* November 14, the *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm, December 18, the *New Ulm Review,* December 22, and the *Minneapolis Tribune,* December 26. The fifty-third anniversary of the execution of the Sioux Indians at Mankato called forth in the *Mankato Review* of December 27 an interview with Thomas Hughes of that city giving an account of the event.

The *Aitkin Independent Age* published in its issues of December 25, 1915, and January 1 and 8, 1916, under the title "Old Timer Tells of Early Days," a manuscript written by Cleveland Stafford, a pioneer of Aitkin, who died December 15, 1915. Stafford's account is full of valuable data concerning the early history of northwestern Minnesota, his descriptions of early travel routes being of especial interest. He was engaged in the fur trade in early territorial days, and collected furs from the Indians of the northern part of the territory, making trips from Fond du Lac to Leech Lake as well as to Crow Wing and down the Mississippi to St. Anthony Falls. Later he hauled freight by team from Superior to Fort Ripley. He lived for a time in Minneapolis and knew many of the men prominent in its early history. In the latter part of the manuscript many incidents connected with the early history of Aitkin and the surrounding northern country are given.

The recent demolition of the first brick building erected in St. Paul—the former residence of Captain Louis Robert—to make room for a modern business structure, furnished the occasion for an interesting article by Captain Robert's daughter, Mrs. Jeannette Lamprey, entitled "Belle of Robert Street Tells about Early Days," which appeared in the *St. Paul Daily News,* November 25, 1915.

John H. McGary of Independence township, Hennepin County, has been contributing to the *Wayzata Reporter* a series of articles of historical value entitled "History in This Vicinity," in which the name and location of some of the early settlers of the western part of the county are given. The first article appeared October 28, 1915.

The *Osseo Review* devoted considerable space in its special edition of December 15, 1915, to "Osseo History in Pictures," an article describing the platting of the village on Pierre Bottineau prairie in 1856, and containing sketches of some of its pioneer citizens. In the same issue Mayor Albert P. Hechtman writes at some length on the "Origin of the word 'Osseo.'"

Under the title "Things You Should Know about the Early History of Martin County" the *Martin County Sentinel* has been publishing from time to time beginning with its issue of October 26, 1915, extracts from William H. Budd's *History of Martin County* (Fairmont, Minnesota, 1897. 124 p.).

A decision has been finally reached in the controversy which has been carried on in the newspapers of Yellow Medicine County for some weeks as to who was the first white child born in the county. It now appears from an article entitled "First White Child Again" in the *Granite Falls Journal,* November 11, 1915, that the honor belongs to Robert B. Riggs, professor of chemistry, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, who was born May 22, 1855, at Hazlewood mission, located south of Granite Falls, founded by his father, Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, one of the early Presbyterian missionaries.

Among other articles containing items of historical interest which have appeared in recent issues of Minnesota newspapers may be noted the following: "Proctor Man Tells Romantic Story of Rainy Lake City" by C. A. Moore, the story of a municipality which sprang up quickly on the discovery of gold in the Rainy Lake district and was as quickly abandoned upon the failure of the mines to produce great wealth, in the *Duluth Herald,* November 13, 1915; "Indian Scare in Pioneer Days" by Harry Kemper of Perham, in the *Battle Lake Review,* November 25, 1915; "Old Indian Tells of Trip over Snow in 1870 with

J. J. Hill" by Joe Perrault of the White Earth Reservation, in the *Minneapolis Tribune,* November 28, 1915; "Experience of One Residing in Benton County for Fifty Years" by Mrs. Mary Skeate, in the *Sauk Rapids Sentinel,* December 9, 1915; "Was Missionary in Early Days of Minnesota" by Rev. Thomas Scotton, in the *Virginia Daily Enterprise,* January 12, 1916; "Recalls Old Days," an interesting letter from George W. Buswell, a former Winona resident, in the *Winona Herald,* January 16, 1916; "Pioneer Tells of Early Days" by W. B. Whitney of Birch Lake, in the *Melrose Beacon,* January 19, 1916; "Christmas in 1868," in which an old settler tells of his first Christmas spent in Stevens County, in the *Morris Sun,* December 23, 1915; "Was Real Pioneer," containing incidents in the life of J. H. Bliler, one of the first school teachers in Stearns County, in the *St. Cloud Journal-Press,* November 22, 1915, reprinted from the *Osakis Review;* the great blizzard of 1873 is recalled in the following articles: "Anniversary of Memorable Minnesota Blizzard of 1873" in the *Wells Mirror,* January 15, 1916; "Early Blizzards are Recalled by W. C. Gamble" in the *Martin County Sentinel,* January 14, 1916; "Lasted for Fifty-two Hours" in the *Albert Lea Tribune,* January 7, 1916.

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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

EDITED BY

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THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING

For many years the work of the Minnesota Historical Society has been hampered by the inadequacy of its quarters in the basement of the Capitol. Thousands of books and numberless pictures and museum articles have had to be stored in boxes in the sub-basement or left in the Old Capitol where they are in constant danger of destruction by fire, while members of the staff have had to work in all sorts of cubby-holes and dark corners. Finally, after much earnest effort on the part of members of the society and of others who believe in the preservation of the materials for the history of the state, the legislature of 1913 passed an act appropriating five hundred thousand dollars for the construction by the state board of control of a building for the society and the supreme court. This act provided for the acceptance by the state of a donation of seventy-five thousand dollars from the private funds of the society to be used in purchasing a site for the building and in equipping the part of it to be occupied by the society. The site selected had to have the approval of both the society and the board of control. Many members of the society favored the so-called Lamprey site southeast of the Capitol on the corner of Cedar Street and Central Avenue, where the building would overlook the plaza in front of the Capitol and would fit in with the plans worked out by Cass Gilbert for the development of capitol approaches. The board of control, however, selected the Merriam site, a large tract located directly northeast of the Capitol, and the executive council of the society finally approved of the selection and paid over the money for its purchase.

In the meantime a still more serious difficulty arose. The architect selected, Mr. Clarence H. Johnston of St. Paul, together with members of the supreme court and the secretary

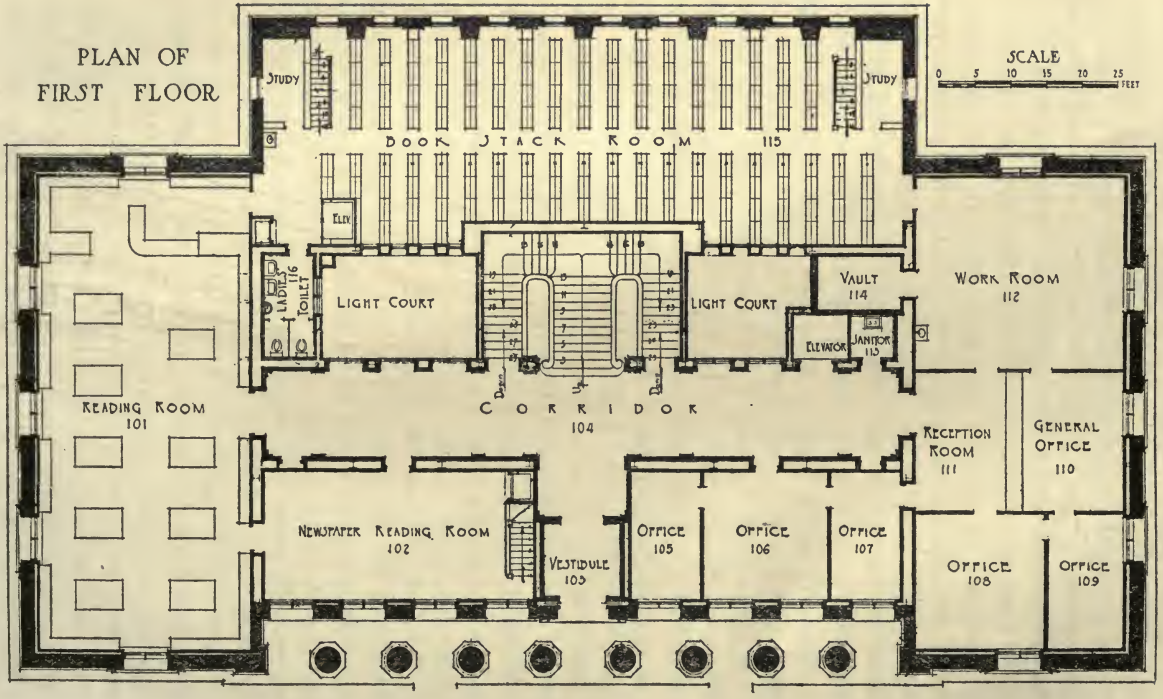
of the society, visited buildings of a similar character in the neighboring states for the purpose of ascertaining what was necessary in the construction of the proposed building. After this and other investigations, it was found, from estimates made by the architect, that a building suitable and adequate for both the society and the supreme court could not be constructed within the limits of the appropriation. The supreme court, in view of this situation and also of the protest of the state bar association against its removal from the Capitol, finally reached the conclusion that it preferred to remain in its present quarters, particularly if, by the removal of the historical society from the Capitol, it could secure added space there.

As a result of this situation application was made to the legislature of 1915 for an amendment to the act of 1913, eliminating the supreme court, providing for the care and preservation of the state archives in the proposed building, and stipulating that any part of the building not in use or actually needed for the purposes of the society, might be used for other state purposes under the direction of the governor. The amendment, which became a law, credited the society with the amount paid for the Merriam site as a part of its donation, but allowed it to select and purchase another site if it so desired and to receive credit for the amount so expended. As soon as possible after the passage of this amendment, the society purchased the Lamprey site and caused it to be conveyed to the state; and the architect, in consultation with the executive committee of the society, commenced work on the plans of the building. These as originally drawn made provision for housing the society, the state archives, and the public library commission. Later, however, in view of the crowded condition of the Capitol, it was decided to assign quarters temporarily to the department of education as well, and this necessitated a revision of the plans and a giving-up by the society of its auditorium and other rooms. It is believed that the state will, in the near future, construct an office building to care for its rapidly increasing activities, and when that time comes the space now assigned to

the department of education will probably be restored to the society and the state archives.

The site finally chosen for the new home of the society is ideal. Flanking the Capitol on the right, it occupies an important eminence, from which a commanding view may be obtained of the city and its environs. The building may be seen to best advantage by the visitor who approaches it from the capitol mall. The Roman Renaissance style has in this instance been reduced to its simplest elements. The strength of the principal façade, the west, resides in the simple, clear, and thoroughly monumental articulation of all its parts. The central motive, an Ionic colonnade, has a just degree of projection, and the recessed loggia with its entrance portals and windows has been so designed as to line and mass that, while sufficiently subordinated to the colonnade, it is also sufficiently emphasized for its own sake. So, likewise, the end pavilions with their breadth of unbroken stonework have the proper accent but do not unduly assert themselves. It might be called a long, low edifice, but the attic, looming up above the main cornice with just a suggestion of the variegated tile and immense skylight which roof the building, and the balustraded terraces flanking the main façade, provide the needed corrective. Outside the building as within, grave dignity rules, ornament being sparsely used, the little of it that is introduced being handled with severe taste. The warmth of the stone itself, the note of color delicately struck in the bronze doors of the main portal, in the window casings, and in the roof, and the vivid tints of nature in the foreground—all these will make more intimate, more humanly interesting the appeal of this imposing edifice.

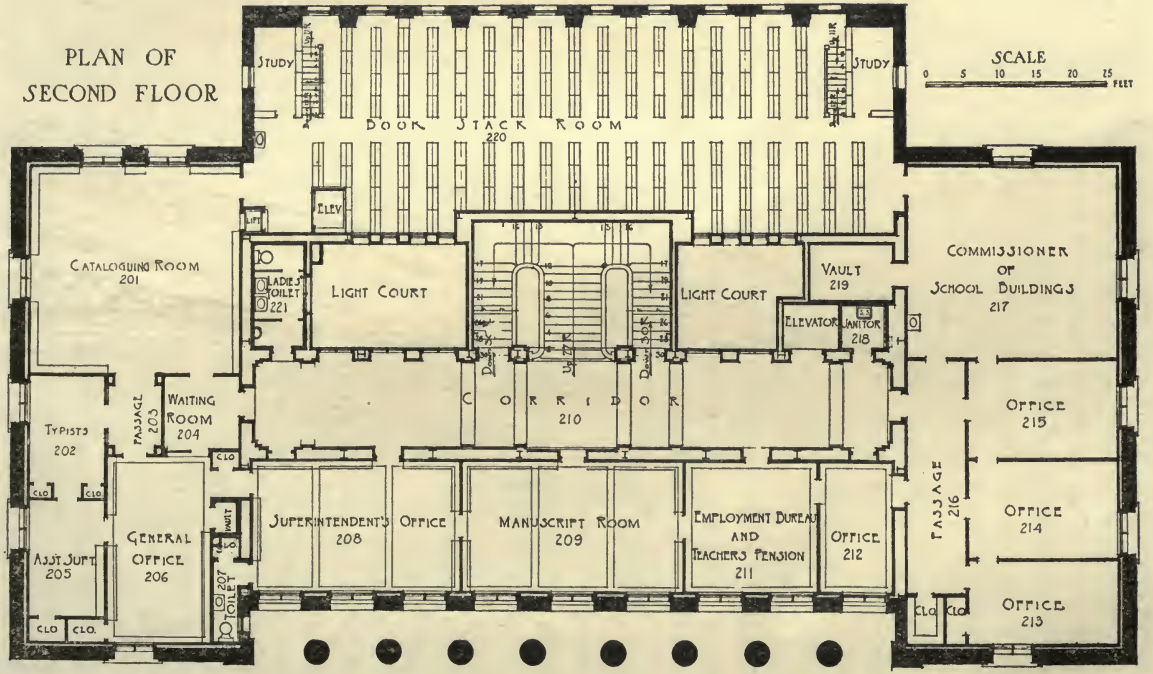
The architect may indeed be congratulated upon the structure which is being wrought under his guidance. It will stand not alone as a monument to the pioneers of Minnesota and of the great Northwest and to its designer, but to the materials used in its construction. It is in truth a Minnesota building. The warm gray granite of which the exterior walls are being built is from large quarries at Sauk Rapids. The marble of the main


PLAN OF
FIRST FLOOR
SCALE
0 5 10 15 20 25 FEET
STUDY
STUDY
BOOK STACK ROOM 115
ELEV.
LADIES' TOILET 116
LIGHT COURT
LIGHT COURT
VAULT 114
WORK ROOM 112
ELEVATOR
JANITOR 113
READING ROOM 101
CORRIDOR 104
RECEPTION ROOM 111
GENERAL OFFICE 110
NEWSPAPER READING ROOM 102
VESTIBULE 103
OFFICE 105
OFFICE 106
OFFICE 107
OFFICE 108
OFFICE 109

staircase and of the floors of the corridors and stack rooms is being quarried at Kasota. Brick and clay fireproofing tile are produced at Chaska and Minneapolis respectively. The stone for the walls of the vestibule and entrance hall on the first floor is being quarried from deposits at Frontenac.

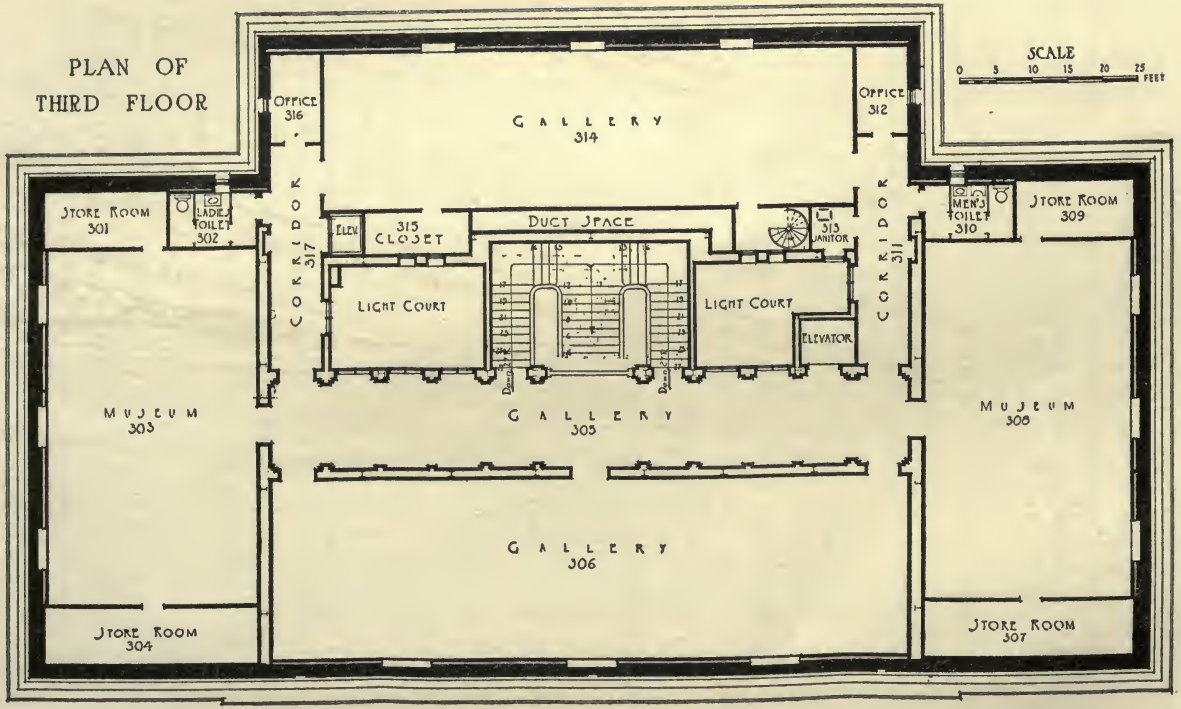
An ideal plan is one in which utility and effect are both accounted for in such manner that the point at which the architect has changed his viewpoint from the one phase of his subject to the other is not apparent. It is on the virtue of such a scheme that the new home of the Minnesota Historical Society rests. This can be demonstrated in a few words. Let the layman who has little, if any, acquaintance with architectural plans as they are drawn upon paper imagine himself making a swift tour of the building from the entrance colonnade on Cedar Street to the galleries and museums which occupy the top floor. The portal itself with its colonnaded loggia is simple and stately and of majestic scale, but the actual entrance doorway is comparatively small. This central motive of the main façade is sufficiently emphasized with its simply carved stone doorway and beautifully modeled bronze doors, and a note of spaciousness, which would befit only some great exposition building or place of public entertainment, has been avoided. The entrance, in other words, is precisely the key to an institution of learning.

The quality of restraint thus encountered on the very threshold is felt throughout the building. Passing through the vestibule (103), we enter directly the vaulted entrance hall (104)—the main artery of the building. In the center, on the east side, a generous marble staircase, with a decorative bronze rail, gives access to the stories above and below. On either side of the stairway are large light courts which extend from the ground floor to the glass roof of the attic space, serving to light the interior rooms. The north doorway opens into the main reading room (101), a room depending largely upon carefully studied proportion and simple, unbroken wall spaces for its effectiveness. The monotony is relieved by bookshelves of oak which form a dado around the room, and by a splendid ceiling


PLAN OF
SECOND FLOOR
SCALE
0 5 10 15 20 25 FEET
STUDY
BOOK STACK ROOM
220
STUDY
LIFT
ELEV
CATALOGUING ROOM
201
LADIES' TOILET
221
LIGHT COURT
LIGHT COURT
VAULT
219
COMMISSIONER OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS
217
ELEVATOR
JANITOR
218
CORRIDOR
210
TYPISTS
202
PASSAGE
203
WAITING ROOM
204
CLO
CLO
CLO
ASST SUPT
205
GENERAL OFFICE
206
207
TOILET
CLO
CLO
SUPERINTENDENT'S
208
OFFICE
MANUSCRIPT ROOM
209
EMPLOYMENT BUREAU AND TEACHERS PENSION
211
OFFICE
212
PASSAGE
216
OFFICE
215
OFFICE
214
CLO
CLO
OFFICE
213

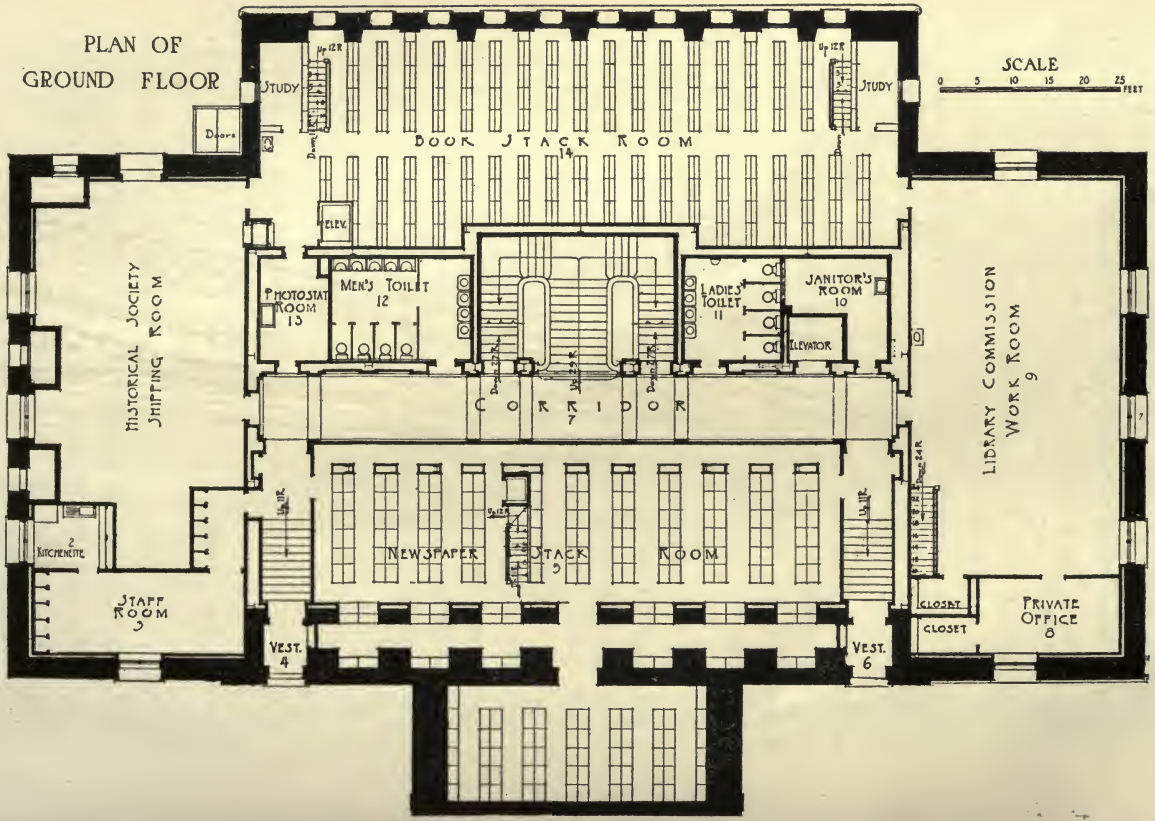
of decorative plaster, in which color is so disposed as to give beautiful play of light and shade. The delivery desk and ample card cases for the card catalogue of the library occupy the east end of the room, convenient to readers and having direct communication with the bookstacks. The room is to be furnished with carefully designed, harmonious furniture. Cork flooring will minimize the noise of moving occupants. Adjoining the main reading room at the front of the building and accessible from it as well as from the corridor is the newspaper reading room (102), which is connected by a stairway and an automatic booklift with the newspaper stacks directly below. The south pavilion, in which the auditorium was to have been located, as well as the Cedar Street front at the left of the entrance, including rooms 105–112 and 114, is, for the present, assigned to the executive offices of the state board of education.

On the second floor in the center of the Cedar Street front is located the manuscript room (209). Adjacent to it is the superintendent's private office (208), which communicates directly with the general office (206). At the north end of the main corridor is a small waiting room (204) for those wishing to transact business with the administrative officers of the society. Another office adjoining the general office on the north will be available for an assistant superintendent or librarian and adjacent to it on the north front is a small room (202) given over to the use of typists employed in cataloguing work. The cataloguing room (201) occupies the northeast corner. It has direct access to the stacks and is connected with the shipping and receiving room on the ground floor by an automatic electric booklift. By the same means new books, after being catalogued and classified, may be conveyed to the proper stack floor. The cataloguing room is accessible from the main corridor through the waiting room and is directly connected with the general office and typists room through a passage (203). The south pavilion and several rooms on the front, including rooms 211–217 and 219, are given over to various bureaus affiliated with the state department of education.


PLAN OF
THIRD FLOOR
SCALE
0 5 10 15 20 25 FEET
OFFICE 316
GALLERY 314
OFFICE 312
STORE ROOM 301
LADIES TOILET 302
CORRIDOR 317
ELEV.
315 CLOSET
DUCT SPACE
313 JANITOR
LIGHT COURT
LIGHT COURT
ELEVATOR
CORRIDOR 311
MEN'S TOILET 310
STORE ROOM 309
MUSEUM 303
GALLERY 305
MUSEUM 308
GALLERY 306
STORE ROOM 304
STORE ROOM 307

The third floor will house the extensive historical and archeological museums of the society together with its large collection of portraits and paintings. As much of this material is not suitable for permanent exhibition, large storerooms are provided in which it can be so arranged as to be available for special exhibits and for examination at any time. The south museum room (308) will probably serve on occasion as an assembly room also until such time as space may be available for the installation of an assembly room on the main floor. The east room (314) will be used temporarily as a map room and a work room for the classification of the state archives, these departments having been crowded out of the second floor by the inclusion of the department of education. The small electric elevator in the corridor (317) gives direct communication to the stack room below, in which the archives are to be stored. The small offices (312, 316) flanking this gallery will be available for members of the staff. The rooms on this floor are lighted by the immense skylight which forms the upper half of the roof. Ceiling lights of syenite glass, particularly designed to diffuse light, will eliminate all glare and shadow on the gallery walls. The artificial illumination of the galleries and museums merited careful study, and so cleverly has the architect solved this problem that the visitor to the gallery in late afternoon will be unaware of the transition from natural to artificial light. Electric reflectors disposed in the attic space above the ceiling lights may be switched on in units as they are needed until full strength is reached.

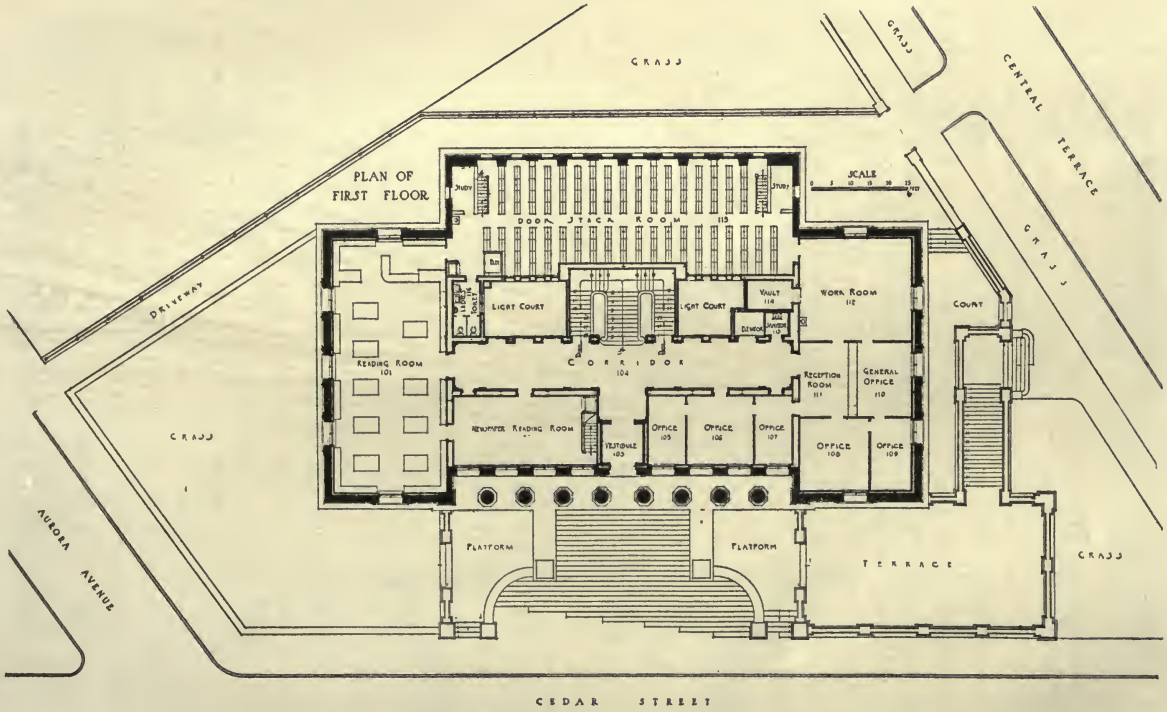
The entire rear portion of the building is devoted to the main stack room, a space eighty-two feet by twenty-nine feet and extending through four full stories from basement floor to second-story ceiling, a total height of sixty-two feet. This immense room encloses an eight-tier, enameled steel, self-supporting bookstack which would hold, if the shelves were completely filled, 383,500 volumes. A part of this stack, however, will be used for the storage of archives. The shelving and


PLAN OF
GROUND FLOOR
SCALE
0 5 10 15 20 25 FEET
STUDY
STUDY
BOOK STACK ROOM
14
ELEV.
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SHIPPING ROOM
PHOTOSTAT
ROOM
13
MEN'S TOILET
12
LADIES'
TOILET
11
JANITOR'S
ROOM
10
ELEVATOR
CORRIDOR
7
LIBRARY COMMISSION
WORK ROOM
9
KITCHENETTE
2
NEWSPAPER
STACK
ROOM
5
STAFF
ROOM
3
VEST.
4
VEST.
6
CLOSET
CLOSET
PRIVATE
OFFICE
8

floors for the lower four tiers are to be omitted under the present contract, the structural members, however, being placed so that shelving may be installed as needed. The stack as planned at present has a capacity of 192,000 volumes or approximately 48,000 volumes a floor. An automatic booklift stopping at each stack floor will minimize the labor incidental to the transfer of volumes from stacks to delivery desk, cataloguing room, or shipping room as the case may be. A small push-button elevator for the use of stack attendants and the library staff extends from the basement to the third floor, making the entire stack room readily accessible from any floor of the building. At either end of each stack floor are small studies where the research student or others using the library for extensive study may withdraw from the confusion attendant upon the routine stack work. Several small table tops hinged to the stack ends in the window bays on each stack floor form convenient spots for casual inspection of volumes.

The newspaper stack (5) occupies the central portion of the Cedar Street front in the basement and ground floors. It is similar in construction to the main bookstack, is four tiers in height, and has a capacity of 16,500 bound newspaper volumes. It is directly accessible from the newspaper reading room and from the basement and ground floor corridors.

The north pavilion of the ground floor is given over to the receiving and shipping room (1) of the historical society and a staff room (3) with kitchenette and locker rooms adjoining. In the south pavilion is the work room (9) of the Minnesota Public Library Commission with a small private office (8) for the secretary of the commission. On the east side of the corridor immediately below the light courts are the public toilets (11, 12), a small room for the use of janitors (10), and the photostat room (13), where direct photographic reproductions of manuscripts, pictures, and even rare printed material may be made. The small entrances to the right and left of the steps leading to the main entrance will be largely used by regular


PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR
SCALE
0 5 10 15 20 25 FEET
GRASS
GRASS
CENTRAL TERRACE
GRASS
DRIVEWAY
STUDY
STUDY
DOOR JTACA ROOM 113
LIGHT COURT
LIGHT COURT
VAULT 114
WORK ROOM 112
COURT
READING ROOM 101
CORRIDOR 104
RECEPTION ROOM 111
GENERAL OFFICE 110
REFERENCE READING ROOM
VESTIBULE 103
OFFICE 105
OFFICE 106
OFFICE 107
OFFICE 108
OFFICE 109
GRASS
AURORA AVENUE
PLATFORM
PLATFORM
TERRACE
GRASS
CEDAR STREET

habitués of the building, the elevator and main staircase being but a few steps distant from either entrance.

In the basement, immediately underneath the work room of the library commission and connected with it by stairway, is the shipping room of this department. A fortunate difference in the grades of Aurora Avenue and Central Boulevard enabled the architect so to design the service driveway in the rear of the building as to make the shipping rooms of the historical society and the library commission, though located on different floors, readily accessible for incoming or outgoing packages.

The building is connected with the power plant of the Capitol by a concrete tunnel extending under Aurora Avenue, through which heat, light, and power will be conducted to the mechanical equipment room in the basement and thence will be distributed to the various parts of the structure. Six large fans will furnish washed, fresh air to each room, being connected in such manner as to allow the various rooms to be heated to different temperatures as may be desired. The latest improvements in ingenious mechanical devices are provided for the convenience of the public and the staff. These include a complete system of private telephones affording communication between all departments of the society, automatic time clocks in the important rooms, and a powerful vacuum-cleaning plant to facilitate the work of the caretakers.

The plans having been accepted by all parties concerned, the architect advertised for bids, and on November 30, 1915, the general construction contract was awarded to the George J. Grant Construction Company of St. Paul. The letting of the contracts for mechanical equipment followed soon after, and on December 7 the wrecking of the house on the site and the work of excavation were begun. This work was completed and the tunnel to the heating plant constructed during the winter, and at the present writing the foundation is nearing completion. The contracts call for the completion of the building on or before October 1, 1917, and if no unexpected obstacles are

encountered, it may be finished several months before that date. Then for the first time the historical society will have a suitable home, adequate, for the present at least, for its library and other activities, and comparable to the buildings erected for similar purposes in the other states of the West.

STIRLING HORNER

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

History of Stearns County, Minnesota. By WILLIAM BELL MITCHELL. In two volumes. (Chicago, H. C. Cooper Jr. and Company, 1915. xv, xii, 1536 p. Illustrated)

These two formidable-looking volumes, comprising some fifteen hundred pages in all, are an important addition to the literature of Minnesota local history. The author is himself a pioneer. Coming to Minnesota in 1857, he worked as surveyor, teacher, and printer until such time as he was able to acquire the *St. Cloud Democrat.* He later changed the name of the paper to the *St. Cloud Journal,* and, after his purchase of the *St. Cloud Press* in 1876, consolidated the two under the name *St. Cloud Journal-Press,* of which he remained editor and owner until 1892. During this period he found time also to discharge the duties of receiver of the United States land office at St. Cloud, and to serve as member of the state normal board. It would appear, then, that Mr. Mitchell, both by reason of his long residence in Stearns County and of his editorial experience, was preëminently fitted for the task of writing the volumes under review. Moreover, he has had the assistance of many of the prominent men of the county in preparing the general chapters of the work. Among these may be noted chapters 2–6, dealing with the history of Minnesota as a whole during the pre-territorial period, by Dr. P. M. Magnusson, instructor in history and social science in the St. Cloud Normal; a chapter on "The Newspaper Press" by Alvah Eastman of the *St. Cloud Journal-Press;* one on "Banks and Banking" by W. W. Smith of the First National Bank, St. Cloud; one on "Bench and Bar" by J. E. Jenks, city attorney of St. Cloud; and one on "Stearns County Schools" by County Superintendent W. A. Boerger.

As a whole, the work has the familiar features of the generality of county histories. Such chapter headings as "County Government," "Court House and Jail," "Political History," "Incidents and Events," "Physicians and Surgeons," "Tragic Events," "Fire Losses," and "Cyclone Disasters," indicate the similarity in

character between this history and others of its kind. The biographies, on the other hand, are in five chapters, scattered through the two volumes instead of grouped together at the end or in a separate volume. The account of the Catholic Church in Stearns County and of the various institutions established by it is rather more extended than one would expect. The list of forgotten names and places (chapter 12), the reminiscences of General C. C. Andrews (chapter 14), the description of methods of early travel and transportation (chapter 26), and the historical sketch of early St. Cloud (chapter 52)—these chapters should have more than a merely local interest. In them one comes into closest touch with the life of the pioneers. The following description of post-office facilities in the early days of St. Cloud affords an enlightening glimpse into the life of the past: "The building was of logs 16 x 24 feet in size. . . . The mail was kept in a small box under the counter and all persons helped themselves. . . . The mail was carried from St. Paul in a two-horse hack and delivered semi-weekly. The hack did not cross the river at St. Cloud, but left the mail bag at a log hotel on the east bank of the river, and any person coming over brought the mail" (p. 1427).

No effort has been made to tell the story of the progress of settlement in this region. For the general reader such a narrative would have been of special interest because of the very large German element in its population. Thirty-two per cent of the people of Stearns County are of German descent. In 1860, if one may judge from an inspection of the biographies of the pioneers contained in the present work, the proportion of Germans in the population must have been even greater. The bulk of this immigration seems to have come in the fifties. At the same time there was a considerable influx of the New England element. Other racial elements followed later.

The author states that "the aim of this work has been to gather facts, as full and reliable in their nature as possible, for permanent preservation." A more rigorous process of selection might have cut down the size of the book without omitting much of real value; indeed, it might have made the book more valuable in some respects. The reader misses the personal and intimate element which he would expect to find, especially in those matters

that the author was fitted by past experience to write about—the St. Cloud Normal School, for instance, or the newspapers of the county. As a whole, however, the people of Stearns County should find this work both interesting and valuable.

CHARLES B. KUHLMANN

Journal of Geography. Volume 14, number 6. *Minnesota Number.* Under the editorial direction of PROFESSOR C. J. POSEY. (Madison, University of Wisconsin, February, 1916. Pp. 161–244)

The influence of geography on history is now so well recognized that all interested in the history of Minnesota will welcome this valuable publication in which are presented a score of articles by specialists on various phases of the physical and commercial geography of the state. The first article, by A. Walfred Johnston of the University of Minnesota, a general survey of the physical features of the state, is the best condensed statement of the subject to be found in print. "The Climate of Minnesota" is treated in a separate article by Eugene Van Cleef of the Duluth Normal. The southeastern section of the state is dealt with in a paper by Charles C. Colby on "The Driftless Area of Minnesota a Geographic Unit," in which special attention is devoted to the influence of physiographic factors on the economic development of the region. Stephen S. Visher of the Moorhead Normal presents "Notes on the Geography of the Red River Valley," and other writers deal with "Minneapolis," "St. Paul," "Duluth and the Range Towns," and "The Lesser Cities." Other articles cover such subjects as water resources, iron ores, peat, clays, rock-quarrying, agriculture, soil maps, dairying, fruit-growing, and manufacturing. An article on "The Development of the Lumber Industry in Minnesota," by E. G. Cheyney of the university, is distinctly historical in treatment and indicates the important part which this industry has played in the development of the state. Another suggestive paper of special historical interest is "Geographic Influences in the Exploration and Early Development of Minnesota" by C. J. Posey, also of the university.

The editors of the *Journal* are quite justified in describing this Minnesota number as "a valuable handbook of geographical

information." They and the special editor are to be congratulated on the high quality of the material presented, for the papers as a rule are not only accurate but interesting. A large edition has been prepared with the object of having copies available for Minnesota teachers and schools, and it is to be hoped that advantage will be taken of the opportunity. Single copies are sold at fifteen cents, six at seventy cents, and ten or more to a single address at ten cents each.

S. J. B.

Acta et Dicta: A Collection of Historical Data regarding the Origin and Growth of the Catholic Church in the Northwest. Volume 4, number 1. (St. Paul, Catholic Historical Society, July, 1915. 184 p.)

The Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul has been in existence now for eleven years and has issued this publication annually since 1907 with the exceptions of 1912 and 1913. Each volume consists of two of these issues. The most valuable article in the 1915 issue is "The History of the Diocese of St. Paul" by Rev. Francis J. Schaefer. In this is sketched the early missionary activity of the French in the upper Mississippi Valley, followed by a more detailed account of the development of the diocese under its various bishops. Based largely on original material, the article is a real contribution to the history of Minnesota. Other articles included are: "Very Reverend Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, O. P.," an account and appreciation of the services of this pioneer priest in the Northwest by Archbishop Ireland, and "The Prophecy," an address by Bishop Thomas O'Gorman delivered before the South Dakota Historical Society in 1903. The latter is a superficial account of French explorations in the Minnesota and Dakota region, in which the remarkable statement is made that "from the day Spain occupied Mexico until the relinquishment to France, that is for about three hundred years, all of the land west of the [Mississippi] river was Spanish territory" (p. 25). Surely the bishop is aware that the French held Louisiana from 1699 to 1762, when the part west of the river, together with the island of New Orleans on the east side, was

ceded to Spain. The transfer of this territory from Spain to France just before it was purchased by the United States, was, therefore, a retrocession.

The "Chronicle of Current Events" occupies about half of this number and is devoted largely to matters connected with the dedication of the new cathedral in St. Paul. Of especial historical interest are Archbishop Ireland's sermon preached at the final services in the old cathedral, and a "Brief History of the Cathedral Project." The accounts of various other dedications and jubilees contain some historical and biographical material, including brief histories of the parish of St. Mary at Lake City and of Bethlehem Academy at Faribault. The section devoted to necrology contains biographical sketches of several northwestern priests recently deceased, and the number closes with continuations from the previous issue of lists of the contents of the society's library and museum.

The Catholics of the state have reason to be proud of their historical society and its publications. The time may come in Minnesota, as it appears to be coming in Indiana and some of the other states, when the various Protestant denominations will devote some attention to their history. Only when all of the strands are made available can the history of a community be properly woven.

S. J. B.

Compendium of History and Biography of Carver and Hennepin Counties, Minnesota. By MAJOR R. I. HOLCOMBE, historical editor, and WILLIAM H. BINGHAM, general editor. (Chicago, Henry Taylor and Company, 1915. viii, 342 p. Illustrated)

The first 185 pages of this book are reprinted, page for page, from the historical part of the *Compendium of History and Biography of Minneapolis and Hennepin County* published in 1914. The remainder of the work is devoted to Carver County and is divided about equally between history and biographies. The historical section opens with a description of the county and an account of the early explorers and fur-traders. The beginnings of settlement and county organization are then taken up, followed

by a chapter of miscellanies of early history. One chapter is devoted to transportation routes, three to historical sketches of the townships and villages, and the final chapter to the record of soldiers from the county in the Civil War. Had a larger number of the good people of Carver County subscribed for the volume, they would doubtless have received a more comprehensive, if not a more adequate, "history."

S. J. B.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

At the annual meeting of the executive council of the society on February 28, the superintendent read a paper on "Some Aspects of Lincoln's Career as a Whig Politician." The stated meeting of the council on April 10 was open to the public, and an audience of over a hundred, which filled the reading room to overflowing, assembled to hear "A Sketch of the Sioux Massacre of 1862," presented by Mr. Marion P. Satterlee of Minneapolis, who has given considerable attention to the collection of new material on this subject. The paper was illustrated with lantern slides. It is of interest to note that there were in the audience quite a number of people who played a part in the events of the outbreak. Among them were: George A. Brackett, quartermaster of General Sibley's expedition of 1863, who was with Lieutenant Ambrose Freemen when the latter was killed, and who hid from the Indians on the prairie for several days before regaining the command; Charles S. Plummer, a member of the Sibley expedition of 1863; Oliver P. Dutton, who was in the United States secret service, and was present at the execution of the thirty-eight Indians at Mankato, December 26, 1862; Milton Stubbs, a member of Strout's Company, who took part in the engagement with the Indians at Acton, September 3, 1862; Margaret King Horan, a refugee at Fort Ridgely throughout the siege; Mary E. Schwandt Schmidt, who was taken captive by the Indians and was among those liberated at Camp Release by General Sibley and his command; Amelia Busse Reynolds, who was captured at Middle Creek, August 18, 1862, and was among those held at Camp Release; and Nathan Butler, a civil engineer, who built the cabin at Acton in which the first killing of the whites occurred.

Through the United Press the society is furnishing to many of the evening papers of the state a series of daily items of from fifty to seventy-five words each on "Minnesota Geographic Names and Their Historical Significance." Most of the data for this series are supplied by Mr. Upham. The items are being used

by the following papers: *Rochester Post and Record, Red Wing Republican, Mankato Free Press, Mankato Review, St. Cloud Journal-Press, St. Cloud Times, Minneapolis Journal, Minneapolis Tidende, St. Paul News, Virginian* (Virginia), *Bemidji Pioneer, Crookston Times, Moorhead News, Fergus Falls Journal, Brainerd Dispatch,* and possibly by others. The fifteen listed have a combined circulation of about half a million. Each item carries at the head a line giving credit to the Minnesota Historical Society for the preparation of the material. It is believed that this enterprise will have two advantages: It will tend to promote an interest in Minnesota history, and it will bring the society to the attention of the people of the state.

Attention has been already called to the plan of the society for developing a great collection of material relating to the Scandinavians in the United States. Recently an arrangement was made with the regents of the University of Minnesota by which the field of Scandinavian material was divided between the libraries of the university and of the Minnesota Historical Society. It is now understood that the university will confine its collection in this field to Scandinavian languages and literatures and materials relating to the history of the Scandinavian countries themselves, while the society will collect materials relating to these peoples in America. In accordance with this understanding the university library turned over to the society the extensive and valuable O. N. Nelson collection which it has possessed for a number of years. In exchange for this material the university will receive from the library of the society an equivalent from its duplicates and from material which is outside its proper scope.

The Taylor Papers

Mrs. Charles L. Alden, who was Mary Langford Taylor, a daughter of Consul James W. Taylor, was a recent visitor at the rooms of the society and told of the circumstances attending the deposit of the Taylor Papers with the society. It seems that after Taylor's death in April, 1893, all of his papers, which were very bulky because he saved everything, were shipped to Mrs. Alden at her home in Troy, New York. Governor William R.

Marshall was then acting as secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society and suggested to Mrs. Alden that such of the papers as were of historical importance should be turned over to the society. For two or three months she spent several hours a day going through the mass of material and destroying what seemed to be too personal or inconsequential to make its preservation desirable. The remainder was packed in a trunk and shipped to the society and Governor Marshall receipted for it. Shortly afterwards he resigned his position as secretary and removed to California, and the trunk appears to have rested undisturbed in a storeroom in the Old Capitol until its discovery a little over a year ago.

The publication of the sketch of Consul Taylor in the BULLETIN has attracted considerable attention both in Canada and the United States. The *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg in its issue of February 26 contained a review of the article by Isaac Cowie, and a longer review, with extensive extracts, also by Mr. Cowie, appeared in the March issue of the *Western Home Monthly,* a magazine published in Winnipeg. The latter notice is accompanied by reproductions of pictures of Taylor, the steamboat "Anson Northrup," Fort Pembina, and "Riel at exercise in prison yard at Regina, 1885."

Since the publication of the bibliography of Taylor's writings in the November issue of the BULLETIN, the following additional items have come to light:

The October election; how can a Democrat most effectually support the government and the Union by his vote? [St. Paul, Press Printing Company, pr., 1861.] 7 p.

A reprint of a series of communications signed "A Democrat," which appeared in the *St. Paul Daily Press,* September 14, 15, and 17, 1861. Taylor's authorship of the series is established by the notation "By J. W. Taylor of St. Paul" in his own hand below the title on the copy of the pamphlet in volume 31 of the Donnelly Pamphlets.

[Address on the relations of British America and the United States.] *Proceedings of the International Commercial Convention . . . Portland, Me., August 4th and 5th, 1868,* 42–50. (Portland, B. Thurston & Company, pr., 1868. 160 p.).

Gifts

General Charles H. Whipple of Los Angeles has presented the original draft of a report on the Indians and the causes of the Sioux War made to the board of missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1868 by his father Bishop Whipple; also a volume containing fifteen pamphlets, mostly addresses of Bishop Whipple, and a set of the *Memoirs* of General William T. Sherman containing autographic inscriptions in each volume. The inscription in the first of these volumes reads: "To Maj. C. H. Whipple, son of my great and good Friend Bishop Whipple of Minnesota, with love and veneration for the father and earnest wishes for the honor and happiness of the son. W. T. Sherman, General. New York, Oct. 9, 1886."

The society is receiving the issues of the *Eau Claire* (Wisconsin) *Telegram* containing a series of historical and reminiscent articles relating to early lumbering activities in the Chippewa Valley. The articles are illustrated with old photographs, and throw considerable light on the characteristics of this important pioneer industry not only in this region but in the entire Northwest. Mr. William Bartlett of Eau Claire is responsible for the articles and is assisting the society to secure a complete file. Mr. Bartlett recently acquired for the Wisconsin Historical Society several large and valuable collections of the papers of early lumbering companies. It is to be hoped that similar collections of some of the Minnesota companies and of individuals prominent in the industry may in time be received by the Minnesota Historical Society.

Four manuscript books containing accounts and lists of members of the *Skandinaviske Arbeiderforening,* or Scandinavian Workingmen's Society, of Minneapolis, which appears to have flourished from 1885 to 1901, have been received from Mr. Thorwald E. Nelson of Minneapolis. Mr. Nelson has also presented a manuscript copy of his speech at the unveiling of the monument to Rev. M. Falk Gjertsen in Lakewood Cemetery, Minneapolis, September 12, 1915, and a partial file of souvenir programs of various Scandinavian and Norwegian singers' associations. Additional issues of these programs have been received

from others, but the following are still lacking: United Scandinavian Singers' Association, first, second, fifth, and sixth; Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association, first to fifth inclusive; Norwegian Singers' Association of America, thirteenth; and Red River Valley Scandinavian Singers' Association, first. Persons having copies of any of these issues are urged to send them in for preservation in the society's library.

The project of preparing a collection of photographs of prominent citizens of Minnesota for the society, which has been undertaken by Lee Brothers of Minneapolis, has made considerable progress, and fifty-six photographs have been received. These are very fine pictures, and each is accompanied by data of a biographical character supplied by the subject. Many more pictures have been taken for the collection but have not yet been completed and turned over to the society. Four of the pictures designed for the collection were reproduced in the rotogravure section of the *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune* of April 23.

Learning that Mr. John R. Cummins of Minneapolis possessed a set of diaries which he had kept for about sixty years and which he might be willing to present to the society, the superintendent visited Mr. Cummins and readily persuaded him to turn over the set, which begins in 1855 and continues to the present. Mr. Cummins came to Minnesota from Pennsylvania in 1856 and located on a farm at Eden Prairie. Later he was a farmer for the Ojibway Indians at Leech Lake for a time. While much of the material in the diaries relates to the weather and daily occupations, material by the way which is sometimes of considerable use, they contain also occasional items of especial importance, such as contemporary references to the constitutional convention in 1857 and to the battle of Shakopee between the Ojibways and Dakotas.

From Hon. John R. Swann, mayor of Madison, Minnesota, has been received a letter written by Stephen R. Riggs of Lac qui Parle on November 19, 1850, to S. L. Babcock, Esq. It contains sketches of "the first settlement of Lac qui Parle," "Lac qui Parle mission station," and the "first corn mill in Minnesota." This letter had been sent to Mayor Swann by Mrs. Elisabeth von

Wedelstaedt Lambert of White Bear, Minnesota. In acknowledging the donation, the superintendent wrote to Mrs. Lambert as well as to Mayor Swann, and as a result of the correspondence thus opened, the society has received from Mrs. Lambert quite a number of other donations of interest and value, including three Mexican figurines, a Mexican sombrero, an African hat, a Dakota Indian bow and two arrows, and other museum items, some documents relating to Count Heinrich von Wedelstaedt of Indiana, a collection of election tickets, programs, and newspaper clippings, and a broadside entitled "St. Paul, Minnesota in its Infancy."

In the last number of the BULLETIN announcement was made of the gift of a copy of *The First Minnesota* published "by a detachment of the typographical fraternity of the First Minnesota Regiment" at Berryville, Virginia, March 11, 1862. This copy, it appears, is a facsimile made about 1895, but the society has since received from Mr. Edward A. Stevens of Minneapolis, who was one of the "detachment," his copies of the original of this issue and also of a second issue dated March 13. Mr. Stevens believes that there are only four or five originals of the first issue in existence, and that this copy of the second issue is unique.

Some specimens of early eighteenth-century builders' hardware have been presented by Mr. Herbert C. Varney of St. Paul. They comprise nails, spikes, and hinges, all handmade, which "were taken from timbers forming the ell of the house built in Stratham, New Hampshire, about the year 1710, by 'Judge' Andrew Wiggin, grandson of Thomas Wiggin, first governor of the settlements on the Piscataqua River, now New Hampshire, and also a grandson of Anne Bradstreet, the first New England poetess. The main part of the house is still standing much in its original condition."

From Mr. Cyrus R. Stone of St. Paul has been received a collection of letters and a diary written while he was serving as a soldier in the Sixteenth New York Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War; also a manuscript narrative of his observations and experiences during the war based in part on the contemporary

letters. Mr. Stone is about to move to Briar Hill, St. Lawrence County, New York.

Three invoices of 1864, listing goods sold to "H. C. Smith & Co." by "J. L. Forepaugh & Co., Jobbers of Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods, Yankee Notions, &c.," by "Borup & Champlin, Wholesale Grocers, Forwarding and Commission Merchants," and by "Beaupre & Kelly, Wholesale Grocers, Forwarding & Commission Merchants," all of St. Paul, have been presented by Mr. J. P. Funk. They throw an interesting light on prices during the Civil War period.

Mr. W. W. Cutler of St. Paul has presented a file of the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* from its beginning in 1892 to the present date, twenty-four volumes, and has agreed to keep up the file in the future. The *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* is quite different from the usual alumni publication, and this file will be a valuable addition to the library.

An interesting addition to the museum is a brilliant red military coat which was worn in the War of 1812 by Erastus Root, brigadier general of the New York militia and at one time lieutenant governor of New York. The coat is a gift from Mr. Asher Murray of Wadena, Minnesota.

From Judge John W. Willis of St. Paul has been received a wall map of St. Anthony and Minneapolis in 1856, "compiled, drawn & published by Chapman & Curtis, Civil Engineers, Draughtsmen & Land Agents, St. Anthony Falls, Minnesota." The scale is five hundred feet to the inch.

Governor Burnquist has turned over to the society the engrossed and duly authenticated copy of the concurrent resolution adopted by the United States Senate and House of Representatives on March 11, 1916, accepting from the state of Minnesota the statue of Henry Mower Rice to be placed in Statuary Hall.

A foot muff of olden times, a photograph of Fifth Street, St. Paul, in 1866, and a large number of miscellaneous books and pamphlets have been presented by Mrs. George E. Tuttle of Minneapolis.

Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll has presented a framed picture of the members of the Old Settlers' Association of Minnesota taken at the time of the annual meeting in 1885.

From Miss Rhoda Emery of St. Paul has been received a collection of letters written by her grandfather, James George of Ohio, and recounting his experiences in the Mexican War.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The year 1919 will mark the one hundredth anniversary of American occupation of Minnesota. Although the part of the state east of the Mississippi was nominal American territory from 1783 and that west of the river from 1803, and although an American expedition under Lieutenant Pike visited the upper Mississippi in 1805–06, the United States exercised no regular jurisdiction over the region, and no American citizens resided in it until the arrival of the troops for the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Minnesota River in 1819. A number of states are now celebrating the centennial of their admission to the Union—of their coming of age, as it were. Minnesota has an opportunity to celebrate in the near future the centennial of her birth as an American community—to call attention to the fact that here a wilderness occupied only by Indians and occasional fur-traders owing allegiance to a foreign power has, in the course of a century, been transformed into a highly organized industrial and agricultural state. If such a celebration is to be undertaken, the plans should be worked out as soon as possible. In Illinois preparations for the centennial to take place in 1918 began six years ago.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its ninth annual meeting at Nashville, Tennessee, April 27–29. The program provided for a large number of papers among which were two of special interest to Minnesota: "Some Verendrye Enigmas," by O. G. Libby of the University of North Dakota, and "An Historical Survey of the Region about the Mouth of the Wisconsin River," by Althea R. Sherman of National, Iowa. The latter was read by title only. One session of the association, held in connection with a subscription luncheon, was devoted to reports on state celebrations. Indiana is now celebrating her centennial, and Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri will follow in rapid succession, while Nebraska is planning a semi-centennial celebration. At the close of this session J. W. Oliver of the

Indiana State Library read a suggestive paper on "The Position of the Historian in the Observance of Statehood Centennials."

The social features of the meeting were especially pleasant, including a luncheon given by Vanderbilt University and the George Peabody College for Teachers, and receptions tendered by the Tennessee Historical Society and by the Centennial Club of Nashville. One forenoon was devoted to a very delightful trip by automobiles to the Hermitage, which is kept up by the Ladies' Hermitage Association as a memorial to President Jackson and as a museum of Jackson relics.

At the business session of the association Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin was elected president for the ensuing year; Clarence S. Paine of the Nebraska Historical Society remains secretary-treasurer; and the newly elected members of the executive committee are St. George L. Sioussat of Vanderbilt University, Edgar R. Harlan of the Historical Department of Iowa, Eugene M. Violette of the Kirksville Normal, Missouri, Archer B. Hulbert of Marietta University, and Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois. The new members of the board of editors, which now has charge of all of the publications of the association, including the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* as chosen by the executive committee, are Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati University, St. George L. Sioussat of Vanderbilt University, Lawrence J. Burpee of Ottawa, Canada, and Solon J. Buck of the Minnesota Historical Society and the University of Minnesota.

State Supported Library Activities in the United States, by Edna D. Bullock, issued as number 9 of the *Bulletins* of the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau (October, 1915. 71 p.), is a useful compilation of conditions, opinions, and statistics relative to "state libraries, state law libraries, state historical society libraries and museums, legislative reference bureaus, library extension and traveling libraries." The conclusion is reached that, so far as local conditions will permit, the concentration of the state's activities along these lines is desirable, and there appears to be a tendency in that direction. Particularly valuable and efficient work is done in New York and California, where there is complete concentration, but the work in Wisconsin

also is commended although managed by three distinct, though coöperating, agencies. From the statistics it would appear that only seven states have more books available in their state-supported libraries of the classes dealt with than has Minnesota. These are Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. Minnesota's annual appropriations for the work of these agencies are exceeded, however, by those of ten states: California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. It will be noted that this list includes most of Minnesota's neighbors to the east and south. In four states, California, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, the appropriations are over twice those of Minnesota.

The following item clipped from *London Tit-Bits* shows the way in which England looks after the preservation of public records. To any one familiar with the condition of American state and national archives, the contrast is striking.

"Unknown to the millions who pass through the city of London every week, a work of unparalleled magnitude at what is known as the public record office in Chancery lane, has been going on for a number of years. In this office there are 25 miles of shelves, all full of historical material, going back through the centuries as far as 'Domesday Book.'

"It costs over £26,000 a year to keep up the record office, the keeper of the records being the master of the rolls. The office was established by the public records act in 1838, and the records were taken there from the tower, the chapter house, Westminster, the rolls chapel, and elsewhere. Ever since that time the office has been constantly receiving accretion from the law courts, the government departments, and from various other quarters.

"All sorts of records are kept, legal, historical, genealogical, statistical and so varied are the contents of the office that antiquarian research of almost every kind can be made. There you will find the records of the star chamber and the old wards and liveries. State papers, domestic, colonial and foreign, formerly preserved in the state paper office in Whitehall, are also to be seen there. Usually 50 or 60 students are seen working

in the record office every day, and at any time there is the fascinating thought that one of them may make some interesting historical discovery."

The Canadian Parliament Buildings in Ottawa were destroyed by fire on February 4. Fortunately the Parliament Library escaped with comparatively small losses, but many important records in the offices must have been burned. The bulk of the archives, however, which are of great historical value not only for Canada but also for the United States, were safe in the special building which the Canadian government has been foresighted enough to construct for their concentration and preservation.

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1913 (Washington, 1915. 2 v.) contains a suggestive paper by Worthington C. Ford on "Manuscripts and Historical Archives," in which the progress made in some of the eastern states toward adequate care of public records is pointed out and the problem discussed of what to save and what to destroy of the rapidly accumulating masses of records and manuscripts. Charles H. Hart's paper on "Frauds in Historical Portraiture, or Spurious Portraits of Historical Personages" illustrates the necessity for the constant maintenance of the critical attitude in historical work. Included in the *Report* are the proceedings of the tenth annual conference of historical societies and the fifth annual conference of archivists. The former contains a paper by Clarence W. Alvord on "Planning the Publication Work of Historical Agencies," and the latter includes a number of papers and discussions on problems of archive administration. The conference of archivists has in preparation a primer of archival economy, two chapters of which are included in tentative form in these proceedings. The second volume of the *Report* contains the "Papers of James A. Bayard, 1796–1815," edited by Elizabeth Donnan.

Volume 4 of the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of North Dakota (944 p.) bears the imprint 1913, but the copyright date is 1915, in which year it actually appeared. The volume is edited by Professor O. G. Libby of the University of North Dakota, who is secretary of the society. The articles touching

Minnesota history are: "Location and Survey of the Northern International Boundary Line," by Ethel J. May, and "The Hudson Bay Company and the Red River Trade," by Hattie Listenfelt. The latter paper is accompanied by a documentary appendix of thirty pages. About half of the volume is devoted to documents, including the "Summary of Evidence in the Controversy between The Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, Reprinted from Papers relating to the Red River Settlement, 1815–19, Ordered by House of Commons to be printed July 12, 1819"; and "The Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1830–1843," with an introduction by Isaac Cowie. It is to be regretted that valuable material of this sort should be printed on such miserably poor paper.

The July, 1915, number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society contains a "Biographical Sketch of David B. Sears, Pioneer in the Development and Utilization of the Water Power of the Mississippi and Its Tributaries—Compiled Mainly from Data Supplied by His Son, David Sears, of Sears, Illinois." Mr. Sears began the development of water power at Moline, Illinois, in 1838. In 1852 he was the surveyor-general in charge of the running of the boundary line between Iowa and Minnesota, and in 1856 he bought an interest in the undeveloped water power of the Falls of St. Anthony on the west side of the river. Later he bought the site of Minnetonka City at the outlet of Lake Minnetonka, laid out a town, and erected a sawmill and furniture factory. He then returned to Moline, leaving the venture in the hands of partners, who made a failure of it.

Volume 39 of the *Michigan Historical Collections* (1915. 601 p.) contains, in addition to the report of the Michigan Historical Commission for 1913 and papers and proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, 1912–14, a "List of Subjects and Authors, Michigan Historical Collections, Volumes 1 to 39." This will be welcomed by investigators who have occasion to use any of the voluminous material contained in the set, but it is to be hoped that the consolidated index, which is promised, will be pushed forward as rapidly as possible.

The work of the Minnesota State Art Commission is described as a model for other states and especially for North Carolina in

a paper by William C. A. Hammel on "A State Art Commission," which was read at the sixteenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina last November. The association adopted a resolution urging the establishment of a similar commission in North Carolina and provided for a committee to draft a bill to effect that end, which is to be submitted to the legislature at its next session. The paper referred to and others of considerable interest, notably "A Western View of Tradition," by Franklin K. Lane, can be found in the *Proceedings* of the association published by the North Carolina Historical Commission as number 20 of its *Bulletins* (1916. 120 p.).

A *Guidebook of the Western United States,* in four parts, has been issued by the United States Geological Survey as numbers 611–614 of its *Bulletins* (1915. 212, 244, 194, 142 p.). "The plan of the series is to present authoritative information that may enable the reader to realize adequately the scenic and material resources of the region he is traversing, to comprehend correctly the basis of its development, and above all to appreciate keenly the real value of the country he looks out upon. . . . Items of interest in civic development or references to significant epochs in the record of discovery and settlement may be interspersed with explanations of mountain and valley or statements of geologic history." Each part deals with the country along an important railway route, including: (A) the Northern Pacific from St. Paul to Seattle, with a side trip to Yellowstone Park; (B) the Overland Route from Omaha to San Francisco, also with a side trip to Yellowstone Park; (C) the Santa Fe from Kansas City to Los Angeles, with a side trip to the Grand Canyon, and (D) the Shasta Route and Coast Line from Seattle to Los Angeles. Each part contains illustrations and a geologic and topographic map of the route in a number of sheets. The first thirty-five pages of part A, with sheets 1 to 4 of the map, cover the Northern Pacific route in Minnesota from St. Paul to Moorhead.

The United States Geological Survey is publishing a series of reports on "Surface Water Supply of the United States," part v of which, issued as number 385 of its *Water Supply Papers* (1915.

247, xxix p.), deals with the "Hudson Bay and Upper Mississippi River Basins." This part was "prepared in coöperation with the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois."

Quaint and Historic Forts of North America, by John Martin Hammond (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1915. xiv, 309 p.), is a medley of history and description put out in attractive form and designed for popular consumption. It contains a four-page sketch of Fort Snelling, in which the early settlers on the reservation who were evicted by the military authorities are unjustly characterized as "refugees from civilization and disreputable hangers-on."

Considerable scattered information about Minnesota in the 1915 issue of *The American Year Book, a Record of Events and Progress* (1916. 862 p.) can be located by consulting the index. The work is edited by Francis G. Wickware and is now in its sixth issue.

Volume 48 of the *Proceedings* of the United States National Museum (Washington, 1915. x, 672 p.) contains an article on "The Fisher, Polk County, Minnesota, Meteorite."

The *Proceedings* of the Iowa Academy of Science for 1915 (Des Moines. 407 p.) contains a catalogue of "The Flora of the Rainy River Region," by Harriette S. Kellogg.

"How the Furs Came Down from the North Country," by L. A. Chase, in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for February, is a vivid picture of the fur trade in the Northwest in the early days.

The Life and Ventures of the Original John Jacob Astor, by Elizabeth L. Gebhard (Hudson, New York, 1915. xix, 321 p.), will be disappointing to any one who expects to find in it any considerable amount of specific information about the organization and operations of Astor's American Fur Company in the upper Mississippi and Great Lakes region.

"Les médailles décernées aux Indiens d'Amérique, étude historique et numismatique" is the title of a valuable article by Victor Morin in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, volume 9, series 3, section 1 (December, 1915). The article is

followed by forty-three figures depicting French, English, Spanish, and American medals designed for distribution among the Indians.

Dr. John O. Evjen, professor of church history in Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, has written a book on *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630–1674* (Minneapolis, K. C. Holter Publishing Company, 1916. xxiv, 438 p.). Dr. Evjen has collected from widely scattered records a large amount of information about these pioneers of Scandinavian immigration, which is presented in the form of biographies followed by a general discussion entitled "Retrospect." Appendices deal with "Scandinavians in Mexico and South America, 1532–1640; Scandinavians in Canada, 1619–1620; Some Scandinavians in New York in the Eighteenth Century; German Immigrants in New York, 1630–1674." The book is well illustrated with reproductions of old maps, cuts, portraits, and signatures, but unfortunately it has no index.

The Norwegian Farmers in the United States, by T. A. Hoverstad, is a pamphlet issued by the Hans Jervell Publishing Company of Fargo, North Dakota (*c.* 1915. 31 p.). The success of Norwegians as farmers in the Northwest is the subject of the brief text, which is supplemented by numerous illustrations of present-day farm homes of Norwegians, with a few "first houses" included for contrast.

The Skavlem and Ödegaarden Families, Being a Genealogical Record and Pioneer History of the Skavlem and Ödegaarden Families from Their Emigration from Norway down to the Present, written and compiled by Halvor L. Skavlem (1915. 245 p.), contains much material of value to any one interested in the history of the Norwegians in America.

Recollections of a Long Life, 1829–1915, by Isaac Stephenson (Chicago, privately printed, 1915. 264 p.), depicts conditions in the lumbering industry in Maine, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The latter part of the book deals with the senator's political career and presents his side of the various contests and controversies in which he has been involved.

Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815–1915, by Mary Wilhelmine Williams (Washington, 1916. 356 p.), has just been issued by the American Historical Association in its series of prize essays. For the period prior to 1861 the author has made exhaustive use of manuscript materials in British and American archives with the result that new light is shed on many phases of the subject.

It is understood that B. F. Bowen and Company of Indianapolis are compiling historical and biographical material in three counties of southwestern Minnesota: Brown, Cottonwood, and Watonwan. Doubtless the result will be one or more county histories.

On February 21, 1916, Senator Kenyon of Iowa introduced in the United States Senate a bill to establish a national park, to be known as the Mississippi Valley National Park, near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and McGregor, Iowa. This reservation would preserve in all its beauty of scene the spot where, on the fifteenth of June, 1673, Louis Joliet and Pére Marquette got their first glimpse of the Mississippi as, coming down the Wisconsin River, they turned their canoe into the course of the "great river."

The statue of Henry Mower Rice, a gift from the state of Minnesota to the United States, was unveiled in Statuary Hall of the National Capitol on February 8, 1916, in the presence of some two hundred people, including many prominent men from the state and the entire Minnesota delegation in Congress. The exercises incident to the unveiling were presided over by Mr. F. G. Ingersoll of St. Paul, a member of the Rice Memorial Association. The formal presentation address in behalf of the association was made by Senator Nelson, who paid tribute to the man who, representing Minnesota as delegate and senator in Congress from 1853–63, rendered distinguished service to his constituents. The speech of acceptance was given by Vice-president Thomas F. Marshall. The introduction and passage of the concurrent resolution accepting the statue in the name of the United States and offering the thanks of Congress for the gift, was the occasion for commemorative exercises in the Senate on

February 19, when addresses were given by Senators Nelson and Clapp of Minnesota, Underwood of Alabama, Harding of Ohio, and Gallinger of New Hampshire; and in the House of Representatives on March 11, when the Minnesota members, Messrs. Davis, Steenerson, Miller, Volstead, Smith, Lindbergh, Van Dyke, Schall, Anderson, and Ellsworth, spoke briefly on the life and services of Mr. Rice. The addresses were all more or less historical in character, and the story of the rapid development of a commercial and industrial state in a region so recently the home of the Indians, voyageurs, and fur-traders, was listened to with interest. The address of Senator Nelson on February 8 appeared in the February 13 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal,* and the speeches delivered before the Senate and House were printed in the February 19 and March 11 issues of the *Congressional Record.*

The Red River Valley Old Settlers' Association held a reunion at Crookston on February 29, 1916. Following the banquet in the evening, which was attended by about three hundred people, an entertaining program of toasts was given. Among those responding were well-known pioneer settlers who related interesting anecdotes about the early-day history of this region. One of the principal addresses was that of Mr. Elias Steenerson, who, in responding to the toast "Territorial Pioneers," "gave a most instructive and comprehensive talk on territorial Minnesota."

The Anthony Wayne Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Mankato, Minnesota, are planning to present in Sibley Park on July 4 an historical pageant in which events in the early history of the city will be represented. The coöperation of the various clubs and organizations in arranging for the different scenes, and the appointment of a committee from the city council and the Commercial Club to care for all business matters connected with the celebration, have been secured. The following scenes have been suggested for representation: the first inhabitants—Indian life; the coming of the French—Le Sueur; the founding of Mankato and the coming of the first white settlers, February 5, 1852; the arrival of the first Germans, May 30, 1852; the first school in 1853; the arrival of the first Welsh settlers; the departure of the volunteers, April 23, 1861; the

Sioux outbreak, August 23, 1862; the Scandinavian pioneers. Other features of the parade will be "Mankato to-day" and "Made in Mankato" scenes.

Minnesota Publications

The United States Bureau of Education has recently published "for distribution among those who are directly interested in the improvement of rural schools" a monograph entitled *The Rural School System of Minnesota: A Study in School Efficiency* by Harold W. Foght, specialist in rural school practice (*Bulletin,* 1915, no. 20. 56 p.). The rural schools of Minnesota were selected for study and investigation because "perhaps no other State has been quite as successful . . . in establishing a system of schools intended to meet the demands of modern rural life." Special consideration is given to problems of school maintenance, to the kinds of school organizations, including consolidated and associated schools, to agricultural and industrial education, and to rural teacher training departments in high schools. Maps, diagrams, half-tone illustrations, and statistical tables add to the value of the study.

The St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press Almanac and Year-Book for 1916 (640 p.) is the second annual edition. The first part of the book contains general matter of the usual yearbook sort, apparently from the same plates as the *Chicago Daily News Almanac,* but the last hundred pages are devoted specifically to Minnesota, St. Paul, and Minneapolis. The descriptive and statistical matter in these pages will be of use not only to the man of to-day who wants up-to-date information but also to the historical student of the future. It is to be hoped that the series will be continued with careful revisions from year to year.

Minnesota Municipalities is the title of a new publication to be published bi-monthly at the University of Minnesota by the League of Minnesota Municipalities, the first number appearing in February, 1916. It is the intention of the league that the magazine shall contain the papers and discussions of the annual conventions hitherto published in a single volume under the title *Proceedings.* In addition, considerable space in each number will

be given to current municipal affairs and to the practical experiences of the villages and cities of the state in dealing with the problems of municipal administration. The April number contains a timely article on "The Need of a Constitutional Convention in Minnesota" by William A. Schaper, professor of political science in the University of Minnesota. After going briefly into the history of the constitutional convention of 1857, Mr. Schaper discusses the inadequacy of the present constitution to serve the needs of a "great developed state with complex social, industrial, municipal and state problems." The best solution of the problem lies, he believes, in a thorough and systematic revision of the constitution by a convention specially elected for this purpose.

De Lestry's Western Magazine, of which six volumes were published in St. Paul and Minneapolis from 1897 to 1901, was revived last November as the *Western Magazine.* Edward L. De Lestry continues as editor, and many of the articles in the monthly issues are descriptive or historical in character. The Northwest, consisting of Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana, is the special field of the magazine. The April issue contains an article on Hastings entitled "Taking a New Look at an Old Town," by C. L. Llewellyn, and a brief sketch of early missions and the beginnings of religious organizations in Minnesota, in the department devoted to "Glimpses into Early Minnesota History."

The March issue of the *M. E. A. News-Letter* is the *Journal of the Proceedings and Addresses* (140 p.) of the fifty-third annual meeting of the Minnesota Educational Association held in Minneapolis, October 27–30, 1915. Among the papers read at the general sessions may be noted: "Sanity in Education," by Governor W. N. Ferris of Michigan, president of Ferris Institute, Big Rapids; "The Trap," by William L. Bryan, president of Indiana University; "The Social Ideal in Education," by Henry T. Bailey, editor of *School Arts Magazine,* Boston; and "Training for Leisure," by John H. Finley, New York commissioner of education, and president of the University of New York.

The March–April issue of *Minnesota Music,* the official journal of the Minnesota Music Teachers' Association, contains an inter-

esting article by the editor, Emily Grace Kay, entitled "Glimpses of the Musical Life of Minnesota in Her Early Days." Miss Kay was able to find much valuable material in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society, consulting especially the collection of old theatre and opera bills of St. Paul and the files of early newspapers.

The Millers' Belgian Relief Movement, 1914–15 is an account, written by the director of the movement, Mr. William C. Edgar, of the organization and carrying-out of the undertaking inaugurated by the *Northwestern Miller* to send flour from the United States to the destitute civil population of Belgium (Minneapolis, 1915. 73 p.).

The March issue of the *Artisan,* published by the students of the William Hood Dunwoody Institute, contains a biographical sketch and appreciation of Mr. Dunwoody. A history of printing in Minneapolis is promised for a later issue.

The Winning of the Valley is the title of a novel by a Minnesota author, Rev. David T. Robertson of Faribault.

The Supreme Court of the United States as an International Tribunal, a commencement address given before the University of North Dakota, June 16, 1915, by William R. Vance, dean of the law school of the University of Minnesota, has appeared as number 23 of the *Publications* of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes (Baltimore, November, 1915. 24 p.).

The Minnesota State Horticultural Society has issued in a single bound volume entitled *Trees, Fruits, and Flowers of Minnesota, 1915,* the twelve numbers of volume 43 of the *Minnesota Horticulturist* (528 p.). Included in the volume are the transactions of the society from December 1, 1914, to December 1, 1915, a list of the books in the library of the society in December, 1915, and the membership roll for 1915.

Mr. Albert H. Turrittin, superintendent of banks, has submitted to the governor the *Sixth Annual Report* of the department of banking, giving in detail the "condition of the banks of discount and deposit, savings banks, trust companies, and building and loan associations" for the year ending July 31, 1915 (55 p.).

The Civil Service Bureau of St. Paul has submitted to the mayor its *Second Annual Report* for the year ending December 31, 1915 (72 p.). Some interesting statistics in tabular and graphic form relative to the examinations conducted by the bureau, and to the cost of employment for the city from the years 1910 to 1915 are included in the report. Two other pamphlets recently issued by the bureau are *Civil Service Manual: Standards and Types of Examinations* (September, 1915. 100 p.), and *Rules and Regulations as Amended September 30, 1915* (95, xxv p.).

The Minneapolis board of park commissioners has issued its *Thirty-third Annual Report,* covering the year ending December 31, 1915 (146 p.). The *Report* presents an account of the improvements made during the year as well as contemplated betterments in each unit of the city's system of parks and boulevards. The section on "General Recreation and Playgrounds" will be of especial interest to those who are concerned with the welfare of the city's children. The volume, with its maps and plans and numerous half-tone reproductions of exquisite bits of park scenes, presents a very attractive appearance, and will well repay even a most cursory examination.

University Extension Lectures and the University Lyceum, issued as number 23 of volume 18 of the *Bulletin* of the University of Minnesota, contains the announcements of the lecture and lyceum department of the general extension division for the year 1916–17 (Minneapolis, 1915. 46 p.).

Part 2 of the *Course of Study for the Elementary School,* by J. L. Stockton, principal of the Winona Normal elementary school, comprises the March number of the *Winona Normal Bulletin* (series 12, number 2). Part 1 appeared as number 1 of series 12 in November, 1915.

Annual catalogues containing announcements for the year 1916–17 have recently been issued by the following Minnesota colleges: St. Olaf (Northfield, 1916. 126 p.), Carleton (Northfield, 1916. 136 p.), and Macalester (St. Paul, 1916. 119 p.).

The Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts: An Account of Its Work, issued by the trustees of the society as a *Supplement* to

the September, 1915, *Bulletin* of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (21 p.), outlines briefly the value to the city of Minneapolis of two of the society's activities: the Art School and the Institute of Arts. Illustrations presenting interior views of the institute and examples of the work of the art students, and reproducing paintings, tapestries, and sculptures to be found in the art collections, add to the attractiveness of the book.

The Associated Charities of Minneapolis has issued a *Report,* called thirtieth and thirty-first (55 p.), which summarizes its work for the twenty-one months beginning January 1, 1914, and ending September 30, 1915.

The *Thirty-third Annual Report* of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, for the year ending December 31, 1915, is a valuable and exhaustive compilation of data relating to the grain trade with special reference to the Minneapolis market (202 p.).

The *Minnesota Baptist Annual* for 1915 (175 p.) contains the minutes of the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Minnesota Baptist State Convention, convened at Temple Baptist Church, Minneapolis, October 11–14, and of various associational meetings held throughout the state during the year, as well as reports of the work of organizations affiliated with the Baptist Church.

The historical address delivered by Trevanion W. Hugo at the fiftieth annual conclave of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar of Minnesota in Minneapolis, May 18 and 19, 1915, and printed in its *Proceedings,* 1915, has been published as a separate with the title *Souvenir of the Semi-Centennial of the Grand Commandery Knights Templar of Minnesota, 1865–1915: An Historical Address* (93 p.). The accounts of the organization of pioneer Masonic lodges, chapters, and commanderies, with reprints of their proceedings, are of interest to students of early Minnesota history.

The Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Minnesota has issued the *Proceedings* of its sixty-third annual communication held in St. Paul, January 19 and 20, 1916 (125, 74 p.). Included in the volume are the *Proceedings* of the twenty-fourth annual reunion of the Masonic Veteran Association of

Minnesota held in St. Paul, January 18 and 19, 1916 (vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 581–636), which contain memorial sketches of twenty-nine deceased members of the association.

The Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of Minnesota has published the *Proceedings* of its fifty-fourth annual convocation held in St. Paul, October 12, 1915 (56, 67 p.).

St. Paul Year Book, 1916, is the title of the fourth yearly "almanack" issued by the Corning Advertising Agency (57 p.). In addition to the usual almanac features, the book contains portraits and brief sketches of prominent St. Paul men.

A series of historical and reminiscent articles of more than usual interest appeared in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Journal,* March 12–April 30. The author, Mr. Andrew C. Dunn, of Winnebago, came to Minnesota in 1854 from New York, and was one of the first men admitted to the bar in the territory. In the first paper of the series he relates his experiences during his trip to Minnesota and his recollections of St. Paul as it appeared to him on his arrival. Since there seemed to be no favorable opening for a young lawyer there, Mr. Dunn decided to go to the mouth of the Sauk River where the United States government had just established a new land office. His trip thither by way of St. Anthony and up the Mississippi and his first view of Sauk Rapids form the subject matter of the second paper. In the third article Mr. Dunn draws for the reader a striking picture of the gathering of the Winnebago Indians at Watab prairie on "payment day," and in the latter part tells of the founding of St. Cloud. The fourth paper contains an interesting account of a session of a territorial court held in Benton County in September, 1854, and a description of the "annual pilgrimages" made by settlers from the Red River and Selkirk country in their Red River carts, laden with furs or other negotiable commodities, on their way to St. Paul to secure, through trade and bargaining, supplies for the next season. In the fifth and sixth papers Mr. Dunn discusses the political conditions obtaining in the United States and in the territory in the period just preceding the movement for statehood and tells of the struggle between the Republicans and Democrats over the organization of the constitutional

convention of 1857 and the adoption of the constitution. Mr. Dunn has been a keen and understanding observer of the social, economic, and political life of the people of Minnesota, and the present articles, in which are set down some of the results of his observations, form a valuable contribution to Minnesota history.

"Early History of Mankato; Recollections of Pioneers" is the title of a paper by Florence K. Stubbs of Mankato, which was read before meetings of the Anthony Wayne Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and later printed in the *Mankato Daily Review,* April 1 and 3. The author has gathered together a good deal of interesting and useful information about the growth and development of Mankato and about the lives of its pioneer settlers during the ten years following the coming of the first white men in February, 1852. The organization and departure of the first company to enlist for service in the Civil War in 1861, the Sioux massacre of 1862, and the execution of the thirty-eight Indians in Mankato on December 26, 1862, are treated at some length.

Louis L. Collins contributed an article to the February 20 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal* entitled "Six Hundred Minnesotans Owe Debt of Home to Wisconsin Man," in which he tells of the establishment in 1885 of the Washburn Memorial Orphan Asylum in accordance with the provisions of the will of Cadwallader C. Washburn, former governor of Wisconsin and brother of the late Senator W. D. Washburn of Minneapolis. Although Governor Washburn never resided in Minnesota he had large business interests in the state, being especially concerned with the development of the water power at the falls and with the flour-milling industry. On account of the liberal endowment provided by its founder and through the wise management of its superintendent, C. E. Faulkner, the Washburn orphanage has been able to solve with a large degree of success the problem of preparing dependent children for early self-support.

In the April 18 issue of the *Mankato Daily Review* there appeared under the title "Secret Society of the Early Days in Mankato," an interesting history of a society known as "The Knights of the Forest," organized in the winter of 1862, follow-

ing the Sioux outbreak. Other lodges were established in the same winter in several towns of southern Minnesota. The order is no longer in existence, though a few members are still living in Mankato, among them Mr. Charles A. Chapman, the author of the *Review* article. The object of the organization was to secure the permanent removal of all Indian tribes from Minnesota, and Mr. Chapman thinks it very probable that the early removal of the Winnebagoes from the southern part of the state by the United States government was largely due to the efforts of the society.

In recent issues of Minnesota newspapers there have appeared a number of short reminiscent articles containing material of value on early local history. Under the title "Writes about Melrose in 1867" in the *Melrose Beacon,* March 2, Mr. W. B. Whitney describes his trip on foot from Sauk Rapids up the Sauk Valley to Melrose, at that time only a stage station. In the March 11 issue of the *Winona Republican-Herald* Mr. J. T. Blair tells of the first agricultural fair held in Winona County in 1859. Valuable data about the early history of Hokah are to be found in "The Pioneer Days" in the *Houston County Chief* (Hokah), March 23 and 30. "Early Days in Faribault are Brought to Mind" in the *Faribault Republican,* April 7, by S. S. Nutting of Elgin, Illinois, a Faribault pioneer of the early fifties, continues his recollections of the early history of that city begun in the issue of March 3, 1915. An account of "the longest, coldest, most stormy winter" ever experienced in the state, gleaned from old newspapers files, appeared in the *Murray County Herald* (Slayton), April 14, under the title "Pipestone Star Tells of Winter of 1880–81." The razing of old log houses dating back to the fifties was the occasion of the appearance of two brief historical sketches: "Tearing Down Relic of Early Day" in *Mankato Daily Review,* March 14, and "To Dismantle Oldest Cabin Built of Logs over Sixty Years Ago" in *Rochester Post and Record,* February 25.

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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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MINNESOTA AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE EXHIBITION, NEW YORK, 1853[1]

In 1850 there were in the territory of Minnesota upwards of six thousand white people engaged in the lumber and fur-trade and associated industries, some two thousand of whom were gathered in the vicinity of the little log chapel called St. Paul by the missionary priest, Father Galtier. West of the Mississippi River the Indians were still in occupancy, the Sioux below the Falls of St. Anthony, the Chippewas above, although their lands had been sold to the government and they were soon to be dispossessed. These white settlements were the outposts of civilization; we were, so to speak, out on the skirmish line, and were all on the lookout for recruits to aid us in subduing the wilderness and in vanquishing that geographical phantom, the great American desert. An active correspondence was kept up by letter-writers, and the mail service gradually expanded from a pony sled on the ice twice a month from Prairie du Chien to Burbank's four-horse covered coach or the Galena Packet Company's steamboats daily from Galena, Illinois. By 1855 the population of the territory had grown to about fifty-four thousand, a remarkable increase, the result of a most extraordinary immigration movement of the farmers of the eastern states toward the fertile prairies of Minnesota, the most desirable class of settlers that has pushed the frontier of a country two hundred miles to the westward. The inquisitive student naturally seeks to learn what were the underlying influences which led to this sudden influx of settlers. To such an one the following incident of the days of 1853, in which the writer played a prominent rôle, and which was a real contributory cause, may be of interest.

Prompted by the success of the international exhibition held,

[1] Based on a paper read at the monthly meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, October 10, 1898.

at the suggestion of Prince Albert, in Hyde Park, London, in 1851, Theodore Sedgwick and a party of public-spirited men of New York, including a number of prominent bankers, determined to organize a world's fair to be held in that city in the year 1853. They erected on the west half of Reservoir Square, then "away up town," that beautiful structure of iron and glass known as the Crystal Palace of New York. This building, while inferior to the rectangular edifice erected for the London exposition, was, in symmetrical proportions and architectural beauty, far superior to anything that had been constructed of iron and glass. Filled with the choicest productions of industry and art from all parts of the world, the building was at length formally opened to the public—a dream of beauty and utility never to be forgotten by those fortunate enough to see it.

Advertisements of the exhibition were widely circulated. In the winter of 1852–53 the once-a-week mail, carried up the river on the ice, brought one of these notices finally into my hands. At once I saw in the world's fair an opportunity to attract attention to our territory, then practically unknown, and to induce immigration to move in our direction.

After consulting Governor Ramsey, I prepared and had introduced into the territorial legislature, then in session, a bill providing for the appointment by the governor of a commissioner to the fair, and appropriating three hundred dollars for the preparation of an exhibit. The bill passed, and I was given the appointment. In the early spring I set about securing such an exhibit as would attract attention to Minnesota. At this time agriculture was practiced only in the gardens at the United States forts and on the farms of a small colony of Yankees who had settled on some fertile lands a few miles above the junction of the St. Croix with the Mississippi, called Cottage Grove. Here Joseph and Theodore Furber, James Norris, and Joseph Haskell were demonstrating the richness of the soil by raising with great success and profit large crops of all the small grains usually grown in northern latitudes: wheat,

rye, oats, barley, and corn. The demands of the logging camps, of the Indian trading posts, and of the forts, however, largely exceeded the amount of cereals produced. I secured samples of all the varieties grown.

My next visit was to the principal trading post of the American Fur Company, located at Mendota, which since 1834 had been under the management of Henry H. Sibley.[1] He supplied me with specimens of the best furs in his possession, and gave me a letter to Ramsey Crooks, formerly president of the company, but at this time engaged in the fur commission business in New York, which was the means of placing at my disposal the finest furs in the world.

At the suggestion of Henry M. Rice I accompanied his clerk E. A. C. Hatch on a trip to the trading posts on the upper Mississippi to get an Indian canoe and samples of wild rice, or manomin, as the Chippewas in their tongue called the *Zizania aquatica,* a plant bearing a grain of great food value to the Indians living among the marshy lakes of northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, and to any peoples who shall in the future live in those regions. The rice as well as a birch-bark canoe of the best pattern and other articles of Indian make I obtained through the courtesy of Mr. Russell, the factor in charge of the trading post of Borup and Oakes, and M. Cunradie, a gentlemanly, well-educated, competent clerk whom I had known in St. Paul, and who had been banished to this frontier post by his employers because of his persistent indulgence in whiskey and convivial frolics. Cunradie was a native of Alsace or Lorraine, and was a foster brother of Louis Napoleon, who had just carried out his successful coup d'état in France. Cunradie sought my assistance in getting to New York, saying in his broken English:

[1] In 1842 the American Fur Company was obliged to make an assignment, and in the following year its interests in Minnesota territory were transferred to the firm of Pierre Chouteau and Company of St. Louis, to whom the name of the former corporation was afterwards often applied.—*Ed.*

"Ah, my fren', eef I can only get back to France, my foster brother he will see I shall haf ze good place. I queet dese *sacré bleu* squaw camp an' come to Paree. I queet wat you call hell and get to heaven, ees it not so?"

"But, Cunradie, I have no money to pay clerk hire; only three hundred dollars for the entire business."

"Only t'ree hundred dollar for ze entire treep! *Mon Dieu,* but zat ees too leet' for ze whiskey beel of ze commish'."

As I was about to start on my return journey, Cunradie again appeared, and, taking me to a corral, said: "I show you wat will more attract ze peep' zan all canoe or fur or grain. You see zat fine buffalo bool? You put heem in your show and everybody shall say, 'Meenesota! W'ere ees zat?' Zen shall ze peep' mak' some inquire. I geef you heem, an' eef you get more zan hees cost, you geef me to go to France, eh, ees it not so?"

"Impossible, Cunradie, I could not tie him behind Mr. Hatch's buggy, and I can't drive him to St. Paul. Now if I had him at St. Paul when I start down the river, I might take him along and try to help you back to your beloved Paris, but you see that it is impossible."

"May be not imposs' eef I can get heem to St. Paul before you go."

I bade Cunradie good bye with no further thought of the matter. A week or ten days afterward, as I was sitting in my office in the building at the corner of Wabasha and Bench streets, over the post-office, in St. Paul, the door opened, and a softly moccasined footfall caused me to turn to the intruder, a solemn half-breed Chippewa, who announced in an undertone, "Mr. Cunradie have send buffalo bull."

"What! Buffalo bull! Oh, I hope not. Where is he?"

"See," he said briefly, pointing out of the window which overlooked Bridge Square. And there to my utter surprise and dismay was Cunradie's young bison, an iron ring in his nose, a rope attached to the ring, and the rope in the hands of a second half-breed. By them Cunradie had sent a letter

claiming the fulfillment of my rash promise: that if the buffalo were on the spot when I started, I would take him.

And now my troubles began. The bull was hungry; the Indians were more hungry. After diligent inquiry I obtained the use of a stable belonging to Mr. Selby on St. Anthony Hill. In this building the bull was housed and properly fed, while the Indians were supplied with rations and given permission to sleep on the hay in the stable loft. There were not many children or young lads in St. Paul at that time, but what they lacked in numbers, they made up in activity of mind and body, and in curiosity. They visited the Selby stable in squads; and when the stolid half-breeds were absent or asleep, the children would tear the battens off or pry open the door in order to get a better view of the animal. They became so troublesome that at length I had the Indians take the bison out and lead him through the streets.

He was really a very handsome beast, between three and four years old; not so large through the shoulders as he would be later when his full growth was attained. His fine silky fur was jet black and glossy, though he was shaggy around the head, neck, and shoulders. His horns were short, sharp, black, and polished, and from out of the mass of shaggy locks adorning the front of his head gleamed a pair of black, piercing eyes that were ever on the alert, flashing the warning *noli me tangere,* "no familiarity allowed." His motions were quick and graceful. While lying at rest, he could spring at a bound to his feet, lower his head to meet an attack or charge an enemy with the suppleness of a cat. The buffalo bull in his prime, when angered, is to be feared by any wild beast in America. Horses, unless they are trained to the hunt or are otherwise accustomed to his presence, invariably bolt at the sight or smell of him.

Third Street was cleared of teams when the Indians led the bull down its length to the steamer "Ben Franklin," on the day of my departure. At the stern of the boat a place had been partitioned off with strong boards, and into this pen the animal was taken after much persuasion of various kinds. Here he

was free to eat, drink, and sleep, with sufficient room in which to turn around. But except in the night he had scanty opportunity to rest. The roustabouts on the boat were men whose winters were spent in the woods in choppers' camps, where an opportunity to play practical jokes on each other, to tease any live creature, or to make a bet on anything or everything was never neglected. In similar fashion on this trip during their leisure time between landings, they were wont to amuse themselves by startling the bull with thrusts of a pole and in laying wagers as to how many such thrusts would make him mad enough to charge the side of his pen. The result of this form of amusement was apparent before we reached Galena. The approach of a deck hand was the signal for a flashing of the black eyes, a lowering of the pointed horns in so menacing a manner as to frighten any timid person away. It was clear to me that the sooner I parted company with Cunradie's buffalo, the better it would be for my peace of mind and for my limited appropriation.

In the course of a conversation with the captain I learned that a certain man in Galena had once had one or more buffaloes on his farm, and that he might be induced to buy another. I decided to try to make the sale, and the captain on our arrival at Galena agreed to point out to me where this man could be found. We walked up the street together until we came in sight of a large brick store with a sign Harris Brothers over the door. "Go in there and inquire for Smike Harris," said the captain; "at this time of day you will probably find him in the back room playing cards," and he passed on up the street with a quickened pace. I entered the store, put my question to a clerk, and was directed by him to a rear room, in which as the door swung back at my entrance were to be seen four men sitting around a table playing cards.

"Is Mr. Smike Harris here?"

"Yes, I'm Smike Harris," said a big, bronze-faced, ruffian-looking steamboat mate. "What do you want, young man?"

"I wanted to see, Mr. Harris, if I could sell you a fine young buffalo bull."

Harris sprang up from his seat as though the chair had been suddenly charged from an electric battery, and, coming toward me in a rage, shouted in the language of the lower deck, "——, sir, don't you say buffalo bull to me, sir, or I'll knock the d—— head off'n you and use it for a football."

"Well now, Mr. Harris, go slow. You seem excited about something I know nothing about. I came here on legitimate business. I have a very fine animal on the 'Ben Franklin', and he is for sale. I was told that you would probably purchase him, as you had been yourself the owner of a buff—"

"Don't you say buffalo bull to me, sir. Don't you do it. I've given notice that I'll mash the face of any fellow that says buffalo bull to me; and by ——, I mean what I say. Who sent you here, sir?"

"The captain of the 'Ben Franklin'!"

"He did, did he? The captain of the 'Ben Franklin'? He did? D—— him, I'll settle this thing with him then. Where is he?"

"I don't know, sir. He went on up the street after pointing out this store to me."

"Up the street, did he? I'll show him he can't set it up on me in this way. I'll wipe up the street with him," hurrying off in search of the captain. I have no personal knowledge of the result of this meeting, if, indeed, it ever took place. But I heard afterwards that the captain, after a spell of sickness, removed to St. Paul, and that he has resided there ever since.

My attempt to sell the buffalo having failed, I hastened to make arrangements to get my exhibits aboard a steamer whose insistent bell was serving notice that it was to start for St. Louis immediately. It did not leave until the next day, however, and in the interval I learned the cause of Mr. Harris' extraordinary outburst. It appears that he had been at one time the owner of a buffalo bull for which he had paid quite a sum of money. The animal was taken to his farm, a few miles

from Galena, and confined in a field smaller in extent than suited the wishes of a well-fed buffalo. So occasionally he tore down the fence and indulged in a dust bath in the middle of the road, holding up all travel for the time being. One day he charged on a passing team, with serious results. Mr. Harris was obliged to shoot him, and was himself later the losing defendant in a suit brought to recover large damages. It can be easily imagined, therefore, that the mere mention of a buffalo was enough to put him in no amiable state of mind.

After some difficulty the deck hands of both boats succeeded in transferring my buffalo to the down-river steamer, and I was on my way to St. Louis. The men employed on board were white men, the war not yet having turned the negro loose for work on steamboats, and they varied the monotony of their rough life by constant investigation as to the agility and other peculiarities of the buffalo when disturbed by clubs and chunks of coal, all of which only increased his suspicions and irritability, and made the handling of him anything but a desirable task by the time the boat reached St. Louis. Fortunately we tied up alongside a steamer billed to start for Cincinnati within a few hours. I arranged for passage thereon and had my freight at once removed to the Ohio River boat, the usual provision being made for the bull. The problem of getting the latter into his new quarters presented the usual difficulties, since he refused to let any one get near enough to fasten a rope through the iron ring in his nose. Through strategy this was at length accomplished, and the bull was started toward the bow of the boat and the gangplank.

At this time the levee at St. Louis was paved with cobblestones. The water was rising rapidly, and the draymen were hurriedly engaged in removing from the steep bank the immense lots of freight that were piled too close to the mounting floods. Much of it appeared to be hogsheads of sugar from New Orleans; and the Irish draymen and their negro helpers, the horses and mules, were all in a tangle of hurried confusion. When the buffalo came to the open gangway of the boat, he

did not wait to go ashore dryshod on the gangplank, but jumped overboard into the muddy waters of the Missouri and swam off toward the bank, up which he clambered, blowing the water from his nostrils, shaking his shaggy head, and bellowing furiously. Horses and mules, dragging their empty or loaded drays, fled in a panic, with their drivers, no less frightened than themselves, shouting and urging them on. The animals attached to unloaded drays became unmanageable, and the wildest confusion reigned. Two negroes were rolling a sugar cask on to an Irishman's dray, when the horse started to run away, the Irishman after him, calling, "Whoa, whoa! Stop, till it's meself is on the dray. Whoa, you devil's crab!"

The negroes in the meantime were having their tussle with the sugar cask. "Chuck dis hogshead, Sam, chuck hit quick. I cain't hole hit." "Le's cut hit, Jule, dat's de bes' way, an' lay behin' an' see what's dis beast." Cut it they did, and so prevented its rolling into the river. Others were not so fortunate. The captain told me he saw two casks get away from frightened stevedores and go to sweeten the yellow Missouri soup for the fishes. When the buffalo was safely on board and we were fairly out in the stream, the captain congratulated me and himself that we had gotten beyond the reach of legal processes which might have tied up his boat for a week.

We arrived at Cincinnati in due time. I had written to an old Kenyon College classmate, then engaged in the practice of law in that city, advising him of the date of my arrival and asking him to have some one meet me who would not be afraid to lead a buffalo bull across the city to the Miami freight station. The stalwart butcher who appeared at the landing looked the bull over and declined the job with decided promptness. He was willing to take reasonable chances with any ordinary bull, but no money would tempt him to risk himself with this ferocious-looking animal. My friend and I held a conference.

"He's not so wicked and dangerous as he looks, is he?"

"No, I think not. I believe he was tractable enough at home. His owner used to hitch him to a sled and make him draw wood

and other things. But the treatment he has received at the hands of steamboat roustabouts has made him suspicious and unsociable, especially with strangers and in strange places."

"But he is used to you by this time, and you are not afraid of him, are you? I don't think I can find any one else to undertake the job."

"No, I'm not afraid of the beast. But I am afraid of seeing some of my acquaintances on the street. I shouldn't care to meet Dick A—— or Dan B——. And then the girls! Besides I'll have to take the middle of the street."

"Oh, never mind that! I'll walk up with you. I think it hardly likely that we shall meet any one we know at this time of day."

I turned into a shop and purchased a good ash hoe handle and had a spring snap large enough to take in the bull's nose ring attached to it. Thus equipped, we started back to the levee. As we came in sight of the river, we saw the steamer on which I had just arrived in midstream under full head of steam, bound up-river. I was just congratulating myself that at last I was rid of Cunradie's bull, but my joy was premature and shortlived, for hitched to a steamboat ring half way up the levee was the buffalo, holding a reception for a respectful crowd of wharf rats.

Arranging to have my goods sent to the Miami station, I hooked on to the buffalo with my hoe handle and started up Broadway. Approaching teams hastily turned into side streets and alleys; those following me declined to pass. The street was mine. My friend, after half a square, deserted me and betook himself to the sidewalk, where he attempted some witticisms at my expense with the passers-by. Fortunately I met no one who knew me.

On arriving at the freight depot, I secured a car and saw my goods and livestock safely on board for Buffalo, whither I followed in a few hours. From Buffalo I was fortunately able to ship the car through without change to Albany. At Albany, however, it was necessary to have my freight hauled across the

river, and, for the second time, I led the buffalo from one station to another, a distance of half a mile or more. On the bridge I was joined by a prospecting Yankee, with whom I fell into conversation.

"Goin' to the fair down to York with that there—that—it's a buffalo, ain't it?"

"Yes, it is a buffalo, and a very fine specimen of its kind."

"It is fur a fact, a derned cute-lookin' beast, slick as a mole, and spry as a cricket. Jeeminy, but he'd make a fine show! Side show, you know. Goin' to show him?"

"No, he is a part of the exhibit from Minnesota."

"Minnesoty! Where's that?"

"Up at the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Do you know where the Falls of St. Anthony are?"

"Oh, yes, my old Morse jography tells that. It's away out in the middle of the continent. Injun country, ain't it?"

"Yes, that is Minnesota territory now, and that is where this splendid specimen of the bison was caught and tamed."

"Bison? Bison?"

"Yes, that is the proper name for the animal, though it is commonly called buffalo."

"Do you want to sell him? I have a friend who is gettin' up a side show, and he would fit in like a bug in a rug. How much would you take fur him delivered down in York?"

"Has your friend the money to buy so fine an animal?"

"Yes, he's pretty well heeled, an' if he takes a fancy to a thing, he pays cash down. If you'll tell me where you are goin' to put up down at the fair, we'll call on you fur a trade."

We had by this time reached the freight station, where my obliging acquaintance assisted me in getting the buffalo safely stowed away in his car. As he bade me good bye, he remarked, "But you didn't say 'bout how much you thought him wuth?"

"Considering the rarity and beauty of the animal, and the expense and trouble of his capture and transportation, he ought to bring three thousand dollars."

"Three thousand dollars! Well, that's a purty high figure fur any cud-chewin' beast. But he might pay interest on it if well showed. We'll have to think it over."

Arriving at New York on a Saturday afternoon, I engaged a room at the Astor House, and immediately set out to find a friend, Mr. S. A. R——, a member of a well-known publishing firm. I explained to him the nature of my business in New York; told him of the expected arrival of my exhibit by the night freight, and invited him to join me the next morning (Sunday) about ten o'clock and inspect the cargo. At the appointed time R—— appeared, dressed in elegant Sunday attire, six feet two inches in height, faultless in figure—the handsomest man in New York. We made our way to the freight depot on the river road, which was located on the west side near Canal Street. The car was standing in the yards, ready to be unloaded as soon as I could decide on what disposition to make of its contents. It was Sunday. The directors of the Crystal Palace could not be seen. What was to be done with the buffalo? He could not remain in the freight yards. R—— suggested that I hire some one to take him over to the Bull's Head stables, where he could be cared for until I could see the directors and have other quarters provided for him. His suggestion was adopted, except as to hiring some one to lead the bull across the city. This task I was again obliged to take upon myself. Where the stables were I did not know, but R—— offered his services as pilot, and we started out. Conditions seemed favorable. The day was fine. There were no wagons or drays to avoid. The streets were practically deserted. Everything went smoothly until we were about to cross Fifth Avenue, when a trotting horse, which two young men were speeding up the avenue, caught sight of the buffalo crossing the street ahead of her. There was a dash toward the lamp post, a wrecked road wagon, and a badly frightened horse flying up the avenue at a more than two-forty gait. "Don't stop! Don't look around! Hurry up!" called R——. "Turn down this side street, and let's push along as fast as

possible." Push on we did until we had the buffalo safely locked up in a roomy stall, with plenty of water and fodder. The next morning we scanned the daily papers carefully and felt relieved when no mention of the accident we had witnessed was to be found.

I called on the president and directors of the Crystal Palace to notify them of my arrival and to claim the space set aside for the Minnesota exhibit, including accommodation for a live buffalo. "A live buffalo!" exclaimed President Sedgwick in astonishment. "A live buffalo from the great plains of the West," he called out; "the latest arrival!" His outcry brought in several of the directors who were much impressed with the history of the exhibit. They all agreed that it would be of great interest to foreign visitors, but said that as yet no provision had been made for exhibiting live animals of any kind. They readily accepted my invitation to pay a visit to the stables to see the bison, and made arrangements to meet soon and decide what could be done about him. In the meantime I visited the Palace and attended to the placing of my exhibit in the space assigned me, which was somewhat larger than I could fill satisfactorily with the things I had on hand, unless the directors fixed a pen for the bison, a thing which I thought rather improbable. I arranged as attractively as possible the birch-bark canoe and other Indian curios, the furs, my small stock of farm products, and a number of interesting photographs of Fort Snelling, the Falls of St. Anthony, and views of dog trains and Red River carts taken by Joel E. Whitney, St. Paul's first photographer, which were adjudged superior to most of the photographic work exhibited. Finding that I still had considerable space at my command, I presented my letter from Mr. Sibley to Ramsey Crooks, who allowed me to select furs to any amount from the finest skins on the continent. I had noted the entire absence of any exhibit of agricultural products at the fair, so I called at Grant Thorburn's seed store and purchased seeds in quantities sufficient to supplement my rather meagre specimens from Minnesota. These seeds would

also serve as standards by which to compare the grains grown on the new and fertile soil of Minnesota and which carried labels giving the name of the grower and the locality.

I had been an occasional correspondent for the *New York Tribune* for a few years, and I knew well the favorable reputation which Mr. Greeley held among the farmers of the country. Accordingly, I took him to see my Minnesota exhibit and especially invited a comparison of Minnesota grains with the best seed offered for sale by Grant Thorburn, then the leading seed man of the United States. I called his attention also to the fact that no other state or territory had an exhibit of agricultural products at the fair except Minnesota territory, which he had once derided as a barren and inhospitable region, unsuitable for farming, fit only for logging operations. Mr. Greeley was completely surprised, and wrote a long editorial commenting on the evidences of fertility and adaptability of the soil of Minnesota for farming purposes as shown by the exhibit, and scoring the management for not securing from other states appropriate displays of their agricultural products. This notice in the *Tribune* started a tide of immigration to Minnesota which has continued in a steady stream ever since that day.

But to return to our bison. At the time appointed Mr. Sedgwick and a number of the directors of the fair—well-dressed, well-fed, jolly-countenanced men—met me at Bull's Head stables, where the buffalo was confined in a box stall, the door of which was hung on grooved wheels running on a rail at the top. As we were gathered about the stall, the hostler with sudden violence shoved the door back. The buffalo, who was lying down, probably asleep, sprang upon his feet, lowered his head as if about to charge, and uttered a little bellow, which sent the aldermanic crowd scattering in all directions. "Don't be skeered, gents," said the hostler; "he is perfectly harmless. He's probably more afraid than you 'uns is." But no explanations or assurances were of any avail. The hoped-for opportunity of unloading the buffalo on the Crystal Palace Company vanished with that scare. The directors had been obliged to

hustle, to exert themselves violently immediately after lunch, and there would be tailors' bills to pay. They had seen enough of the buffalo. He was *persona non grata* to them. I wrote to Cunradie an account of our safe arrival in New York; told him that the buffalo was eating his head off at Bull's Head stables, and that he must send me money with which to pay his board.

The opening exercises of the fair at the Crystal Palace were inaugurated by a speech by President Pierce. A great dinner was given at the Metropolitan Hotel, at which was served a portion of the new cereal from Minnesota, manomin or wild rice, a source of food supply for thousands of people and destined to be an important agricultural product because of its ability to grow in places where no other vegetation flourishes, as in water-covered swamps and along the margins of lakes.

The fair was progressing, and so were the expense bills, payable weekly, at Bull's Head stables. In the course of three or four weeks I received the following reply from Cunradie: "My dear fren', I haf ze poignant regret I haf not some money any more. I tak' wat some leet' money I haf wiz Borup an' Oakes, an' haf one dremendous spree wen I hear zat my bison haf got safe to New York, for I say my fren' ze commish' will soon now sell for much money zat beast, an' I may go to France, an' I want not some more money here, an' I gif ze poys a gran' blowout. An' now you can not heem sell, an' can not pay hees board bill. *Sacré,* an' wat shall you do? Ah, my fren', I tell you. Barnum once mak' ten strike wiz buffalo on Staten Island. Sell heem to Barnum. Mais eef he will not buy, put heem on ze first sheep to sail for Havre an' send wiz compliments of Cunradie his foster brother to l'empereur for Jardin des Plantes. Eef zis plan shall fail, sell heem for hees board bills."

Acting on Cunradie's suggestion, I went to Barnum's office and interviewed his man of business. As I outlined my proposition, a smile suggestive of pleasant reminiscences stole over his face. "Yes," he remarked, "we did have a ten strike out of that little shindy. But we couldn't do it again. There's no

use trying. It wouldn't win. No, I think we have no place for the buffalo."

Then I looked up a list of sailing vessels and found two advertised to leave at an early day. At the shipping office of the first boat, on my inquiry as to the possibility of shipping a live buffalo to France to the Garden of Acclimation, I was referred to the captain. I turned to the square-built, ruddy-faced Scotch seaman and repeated my desire to send to the emperor of the French a buffalo bull captured in the great West.

"Ah, hoo grat a value do you place on the animal?"

"That depends. Considered as a beast of burden, he is probably of no great value; but as a specimen of his kind and a rare good one at that, to put in the Garden of Acclimation, he is worth considerable."

"Hoo much do you think in puns starling? Five hundred like?"

"The emperor might esteem him worth that or more, and as a present from his foster brother, who wishes me to arrange for the shipment, the animal would have large value, no doubt."

"And suppose I should take him, how muckle freight would you be willing to pay for the carrying?"

"The freight would be paid by the consignee."

"And if the beast might dee on the way over, who would be responsible for the charge? Noo then, I will take him on board for one hundred dollars down in hand and one hundred dollars when he is safely landed on French soil."

As my cash in hand would not warrant this expenditure, I declined the proposal.

The captain of the other vessel was French and evidently desired to do something to court the attention and possibly the favor of the emperor. He listened to my proposal and did not object to looking to the consignee for the freight. As my French was not much better than his English, he got no very definite idea of the sort of animal I wished to ship, so he went with me to the stables to see it for himself. The result was a

flat refusal. "To haf so wicked an animal on my sheep? No, no, sir! C'est imposs'. Ze voyageur, ze man, he will fly—wat you call desart. No, sir, it would be delight to serve l'empereur, but not wiz zis beast on my sheep. Bon soir, m'sieu'."

My good friend R—— came to the rescue. Among the side shows encamped round about the Palace was one containing a cinnamon bear, a moose, and a horned frog or two. R—— persuaded the owner that it would be to his advantage to increase his stock, and sold him the buffalo bull for three hundred dollars, to be paid in weekly installments at R——'s place of business. I took the first train out of New York for home. When R—— went to inquire why the first payment on the contract was not forthcoming, he found that the showman had departed for parts unknown, neglecting to leave any address. Long afterwards R—— wrote me that he had seen in a Maine newspaper an account of a man in that state of ice and pine lumber exhibiting a young buffalo bull, and he inquired if I had interest enough to look into the matter and, if possible, to identify the animal.

Some years after the fair I was sitting in the lobby of the Astor House, when suddenly there came up the steps a rush of arrivals from an Aspinwall steamer. Amid the hailing and hand-shaking and inquiries about friends in California, suddenly some one rushed up and shook a bronzed, cowboy-looking fellow by the hand, slapping him with friendly warmth on the shoulder. The returned Californian cried out: "Don't, Jim, don't you know that's my broken shoulder, the one that was all smashed up three years ago at fair time. I'd just like to come across the son-of-a-gun that led that beast across the avenue as I was speeding my mare that day. I'll be darned if I wouldn't give him something to remember me by." As I felt no desire for an introduction to any member of the rough-looking party and especially to the excitable individual who seemed to nourish an unforgiving recollection of Cunradie's bison, I passed quietly down the steps and wandered thoughtfully up Broadway, gratified to know that the young man had suffered only a broken

shoulder and two or three months under the surgeon's care. He might have been the principal in a funeral procession, as Cunradie was not long after his "glorious spree."

The movement of immigration, begun in 1854 as a result of the exhibition of Minnesota products and of the editorial approval of Horace Greeley, has continued until the present day. A very large proportion of the immigrants were from the northern states. They were men and women educated in the common and high schools, speaking our language, familiar with our forms of government, exemplary in their morals, with sound minds in sound bodies. Such were the people who laid the foundations of the state of Minnesota upon the basis of freedom of political and religious belief, freedom of opinion and action.

WILLIAM G. LE DUC

HASTINGS, MINNESOTA

THE NEILL PAPERS IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the summer of 1909 Miss Minnesota Neill of Helena, Montana, sent to the Minnesota Historical Society three boxes of manuscript and printed material which had been left by her father Rev. E. D. Neill. About a year ago some scrapbooks and additional papers were received from the same donor,[1] and the whole collection of papers, comprising over three thousand documents and ranging in date from 1836 to 1893, has now been sorted and filed in convenient chronological arrangement. Letters received and drafts of letters written by Dr. Neill make up the bulk of the collection. The letters received form an apparently unbroken series, with the exception of family letters. They cover the entire period of Dr. Neill's career, increasing in volume from first to last in proportion to his growing reputation. Drafts of his own letters, on the other hand, are few and scattered. The remainder of the collection comprises articles by Neill, newspaper clippings, scrapbooks, notes, and miscellany.

Edward Duffield Neill was one of those men of vision, intellect, and energy, whose hearts and brains are inextricably interwoven in the fabric of Minnesota's history—one of a limited number who in marked degree helped to determine the character of that history. He came to Minnesota in 1849, when the foundations of the new territory and state-to-be were being laid. While others were engaged primarily in the political organization and material development of the state, Dr. Neill, through his zeal in the establishment and building-up of religious and educational institutions, was enabled to quicken and direct its spiritual and intellectual life. A maker of his-

[1] See *ante* 229.

tory, he was also an historian and a promoter of historical activities. His services in these several directions continued unbroken, notwithstanding a protracted absence from the state, from his arrival in Minnesota until his death in 1893. He outlived the day of beginnings; other leaders came to the front; but he remained throughout a determining influence in the religious, educational, and intellectual development of the state.

As might be expected, the collection contains an abundance of material bearing upon the history of the various movements with which Dr. Neill was most prominently identified. All three fields of activity—religious, educational, and historical—are represented throughout, though, broadly speaking, each in turn predominates in the order named. This material constitutes the largest part of the papers, though it is not necessarily their most valuable contribution to history.

Dr. Neill came to Illinois in 1847 as a Presbyterian home missionary, and for two years labored among the people of the lead-mining region near Galena. The pioneer spirit brought him in 1849 to St. Paul, at that time little more than a village. There, through his efforts, was erected a building which he claimed was the first Protestant church edifice for the white people in Minnesota.[1] In the same year he organized the First Presbyterian Church of St. Paul, and in the following year aided in forming the presbytery of Minnesota. In true home missionary fashion he often preached at a number of neighboring points, notably St. Anthony and Fort Snelling. In 1855 he organized another church in St. Paul, the House of Hope, and in 1858 assisted in organizing the synod of Minnesota. He continued in the service of the Presbyterian Church as organizer, pastor, and preacher until 1874, when he became identified with the Reformed Episcopal Church, returning, however, to the Presbyterian Church in 1890. All this and much more is to be gleaned from the papers. Of especial interest are the

[1] *Hand Book for the Presbyterian Church in Minnesota,* 8 (Philadelphia, 1856); *Early Days of the Presbyterian Branch of the Holy Catholic Church in the State of Minnesota,* xviii (Minneapolis, 1873).

documents of home missionary days, accumulated when the field was new and the worker young. The various aspects of the life are well represented: the spiritual indifference of a frontier community, the hardships to be endured, the financial difficulties, the denominational rivalries, the friction between brother ministers, and, finally, the compensating satisfactions that attend the unselfish pursuit of a lofty purpose. But accompanying this more commonplace sort of material are to be found also interesting facts and observations peculiar to the time, place, or observer, as the case may be. For example, a member of a neighboring church, writing to Neill in 1848, embodied no little of the religious, social, and political history of the West in a single sentence when he ascribed his pastor's unpopularity to "a worldly spirit of trade & speculation and an over anxiousness to make political abolitionists," continuing with the remark that "the church and the community are right on the subject of slavery they differ only as to the mode of getting rid of the evil &c." The writer, who was considering the possibility of extending a call to Neill, appended the following interesting postscript: "When you write say if . . . your Lady has labored with you in the Female Prayer Meeting and the Sunday School." Occasional letters from other pioneer workers in this field—men, such as Rev. Gideon H. Pond, whose names are prominent in Minnesota history—are of interest. Less intimate and significant in character is the material bearing upon later periods. Religious activities gradually became well-established, recognized factors in the life of the community and more and more matters of course, and Dr. Neill became increasingly occupied with pioneer work in other fields. Attention, however, may be called to a number of papers of the period from 1874 to 1890 which have a bearing upon the history of the movement that found expression in the Reformed Episcopal Church.

Coincident with the beginning of his missionary labors in Minnesota was the commencement of Dr. Neill's life-long activity in behalf of education. As the first territorial super-

intendent of public instruction, as chancellor of the university, 1858–60, and as first state superintendent of instruction, he helped to lay the foundations of the present admirable system of free public schools in Minnesota. He was also a leader in private enterprises for the promotion of the cause of Christian education. With the aid of men of means he established the Baldwin School at St. Paul in 1853. The history of that institution and of those which grew out of it—the changes in organization, name, and location, the long periods of suspended animation during which little beyond organization and name persisted—is a long story. Suffice it to say that, thanks largely to Dr. Neill's efforts, the ultimate result was Macalester College, which opened its doors in September, 1885. With that institution Dr. Neill was connected, first as president, and later as professor, during the remainder of his life. The material relating to educational history contains, unfortunately, comparatively little of value for the student of purely secular education and institutions. It is concerned for the most part with Macalester College and its predecessors, and is distributed with fair uniformity and variety throughout the years of Dr. Neill's connection with those institutions. From the mass of letters, charters, building specifications, accounts, circulars, and miscellany may be distinguished all the various phases of the organization, financing, equipment, and conduct of the typical Christian school and college. But a certain uniqueness attaches to the whole from the fact that in some important respects the history of Macalester differs from that of other institutions of its kind. Dr. Neill's ambition was to establish in the Northwest a nonsectarian Christian college for men, on the model of eastern colleges like Yale, Princeton, and Amherst. A number of adverse circumstances prevented him from fully realizing his ideal, and the final result, in a word, was the taking-over of Macalester College, which was in need of support, by the Presbyterian Synod of Minnesota, which was in need of a college. Letters from M. W. Baldwin, the locomotive manufacturer, and Charles Macalester of Philadelphia, and James J.

Hill, all prominent benefactors of these institutions, form an interesting part of the collection. Occasional letters touch upon the life of other colleges in the Middle West, such as Albert Lea, Beloit, and Grinnell. Letters and papers of the years 1885 to 1893, so far as they relate to educational matters, are largely illustrative of the struggles through which Macalester College passed before it became firmly established, and of Dr. Neill's part in them.

Wherever he happened to be, and in whatever work engaged, Dr. Neill was an untiring delver into the records of the past, and he was the author of numerous books, pamphlets, articles, and addresses on historical subjects. From 1851 to 1861 he was secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, and edited parts of volumes 1 and 2 of the society's *Collections*. The first history of Minnesota, published in 1858, and three times revised and extended, in 1873, 1878, and 1882,[1] is one of his many contributions to Minnesota and western history. A series of studies on American colonial history, with especial reference to Virginia and Maryland, was the outgrowth of researches carried on by him during the years 1861 to 1868 while serving successively as a chaplain in the Army of the Potomac, as a hospital chaplain at Philadelphia, and as one of the secretaries of the president at Washington. While acting as United States consul at Dublin, 1868–71, he improved the opportunity to study and write about the English colonization of America. Apropos of this opportunity, J. Fletcher Williams wrote Neill: "I envy you 'mousing' in the libraries of Dublin, the old booksellers stands, with an occasional run to England, and dip into the *British Museum,* the State Paper & Record Commission office, &c.!" Dr. Neill's work in historical research and writing furnished the occasion for a large number of letters which will be of interest to the student of history and of historiography. A few of these came from men who were in a

[1] A so-called fifth edition was issued in 1883, which differs from the fourth edition only in the addition of a single page of biographical material.

position to know some of the facts of Minnesota history at first hand. For example, among the letters of 1863 and 1864 are several from Major Taliaferro, the Indian agent, whose name is closely associated with the beginnings of American occupation. A much larger group of letters and papers abounds in material illustrative of the methods, aims, and progress of historical investigation the country over. A long-continued correspondence, for the most part relating to the sources and facts of colonial history, is represented by a series of letters from Alexander Brown of Norwood, Virginia, an authority on the subject. Typical of letters from numerous historical investigators are those written by Lyman C. Draper and Reuben G. Thwaites, secretaries of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Letters from well-known historians, such as Froude, Parkman, Nicolay, Hay, and Winsor, are not lacking. With Nicolay and Hay, Neill was in close association as one of Lincoln's secretaries; with Winsor, he had a part in writing and editing the *Narrative and Critical History of America.*

Scattered throughout the collection are letters written by men of prominence in Minnesota which furnish interesting sidelights upon various aspects of Minnesota history and upon the writers themselves. Of these perhaps the most important were received from Alexander Ramsey. The two men were thrown into close association in the early territorial days, and Ramsey always took a personal interest in Neill and a substantial interest in his enterprises. The most important of these letters fall within the period from 1861 to 1865. The intimate character of some of them is revealed in Ramsey's reply, on January 20, 1862, to a rather desponding letter from Neill: "Do not say you will leave Minnesota, it must not be done. If I only consulted my own convenience I too would leave,—and surely you are as much attached to the state as I am." As governor of Minnesota during the first two years of the Civil War, Ramsey had the appointing of officers for the Minnesota regiments. To Neill, then acting as chaplain of the First Minnesota, he wrote fully of his policy in this connection. Other

letters from Ramsey, notably several relating to his contest with Aldrich in 1862–63 for a seat in the United States Senate, are of significance for political history. There are also a number of letters scattered over a series of years from Henry M. Rice, at one time territorial delegate to Congress and later United States senator from Minnesota. These relate for the most part to Neill's personal affairs and to his religious and educational enterprises, in all of which Rice took a marked interest. Apart from their value in these connections, the letters contain suggestive indications of the personality of the writer. In the matter of building a church Rice advises Neill to "go the entire swine now" instead of going at it piecemeal. Elsewhere he expresses his aversion to the use of a motto in a foreign language on a state seal. Again, referring to men who could easily furnish much-needed aid to Neill's college, he remarks, "Rich men may go to heaven—the very selfish ought not to." Among other prominent men who had occasion to address Neill more or less frequently were William R. Marshall, Thomas Foster, George L. Becker, Stephen Miller, John S. Pillsbury, Cushman K. Davis, and S. J. R. McMillan.

In addition to this more or less unified body of material there is another group of letters and papers which may be distinguished as having been accumulated under special circumstances and as not being wholly in line with Neill's enduring interests. These fall within the period of his absence from Minnesota, 1861–72. As a chaplain in the army Neill wrote a series of letters describing the movements of the First Minnesota and of the Army of the Potomac in 1861 and 1862. Not less significant are the glimpses of less dramatic and often neglected features of army life afforded by papers bearing upon the management of the post fund of the First Minnesota, of which Neill was treasurer. Methods by which dependents at home were cared for also are touched upon in papers relating to the assignment by the soldiers of a portion of their wages for the support of their families. A number of letters from officials of M. W. Baldwin and Company's Locomotive Works,

Philadelphia, have a bearing upon the government's operation of military railroads.

While acting as one of Lincoln's private secretaries in 1864 and 1865, Neill shared in the work of handling the president's mail, and he preserved a number of interesting communications addressed to Lincoln. Among these are all sorts of requests and appeals. A colored soldier, disappointed in his efforts to secure a commission promised him by the war department, lays his case before the president. Clemency is asked for the "editor of a one horse concern of a Democratic Paper" in Ohio who has been convicted of discouraging enlistments, because, in the writer's opinion, the culprit is "more fool than knave." Several earnest appeals bring out mitigating circumstances in the case of a rebel spy condemned to be hanged. A Catholic bishop, about to make his decennial pilgrimage to Rome, asks for a safe conduct through the North from Richmond rather than undertake to run the blockade. Another correspondent suggests that the war be ended by the simple expedient of purchasing all the slaves. Lincoln probably never had the benefit of much of the shrewd observation and wise counsel as to the causes and conduct of the war which came to the executive mansion. It is doubtful if he ever perused the sixty-eight-page "Letter on the Rebellion of the Southern States of North America" by one Philippe Gutbub, a teacher of languages at Philadelphia, or the communication from "Veritas" of Edinburgh, Scotland. Another type of letter which Neill preserved was of the sort that came from the humble admirer of the great Lincoln, with its crude spelling, worshipful tone, and naïve assumption of the president's interest in the writer's personal affairs. One such letter concludes as follows: "I am a right loyal frend of yours and hails from old kaintuck your humbl wel wisher Isral putnam Winchester." The hand of the "crank" is seen in the following extract from a note from "Walter of Greenburg": "My dear friend Abraham Lincoln and Lady, peace be upon you, and do not be offended with me if I appear this day before the Executive Mansion, with my cart

which I draw through the country, and lodge in it, a faithful high way preacher and peace maker, without money scrip rations or pay, and always on duty." Neill evidently made it a point to collect and preserve autograph letters and notes of prominent men. Four of these were written by Lincoln, a number by Andrew Johnson, and others by Colfax, Welles, Stanton, and Seward.

Neill's term of service as United States consul at Dublin, Ireland, 1868–71, has resulted in a few papers illustrative of the duties of that office, of the consul's relation to other diplomatic officers and to the state department, and, to a slight degree, of the life of the time in Ireland. Two incidents alone appear worthy of special note: the generous contribution of the city of Dublin toward the relief of Chicago after the great fire, and Dr. Neill's defence of the University of Pennsylvania from the charge of selling its diplomas in London.

A quantity of miscellaneous printed material which accompanied the papers has been placed with similar material in other departments of the library. It consists mostly of pamphlets, circulars, broadsides, maps, photographs, and annotated copies of some of Dr. Neill's works. Of these, two rare leaflets attributed to Ramsey Crooks deserve special mention. They are entitled *A Letter Addressed to Thomas L. M'Kenney, Esq., Superintendent of Indian Trade, March, 1820, in Reply to His Report of January, 1820,* and *On the Indian Trade, by a Backwoodsman* (Washington, February, 1821). These, together with articles from the same pen in the form of clippings from the *Washington Gazette,* are a severe criticism of the superintendent, of his factors, and of the whole factory system.

Franklin F. Holbrook

Minnesota Historical Society
St. Paul

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

History of Wright County, Minnesota. By FRANKLYN CURTISS-WEDGE. In two volumes. (Chicago, H. C. Cooper Jr. and Company, 1915. xvi, x, 1111 p. Illustrated)

History of Renville County, Minnesota. Compiled by FRANKLYN CURTISS-WEDGE, assisted by a large corps of local contributors under the direction and supervision of HON. DARWIN S. HALL, HON. DAVID BENSON, and COL. CHARLES H. HOPKINS. In two volumes. (Chicago, H. C. Cooper Jr. and Company, 1916. xix, xiv, 1376 p. Illustrated)

History of Otter Tail County, Minnesota; Its People, Industries, and Institutions. JOHN W. MASON, editor. In two volumes. (Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen and Company, 1916. 694, 1009 p. Illustrated)

History of Nicollet and Le Sueur Counties, Minnesota; Their People, Industries, and Institutions. HON. WILLIAM G. GRESHAM, editor-in-chief. In two volumes. (Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen and Company, 1916. 544, 538 p. Illustrated)

History of Brown County, Minnesota; Its People, Industries, and Institutions. L. A. FRITSCHE, M.D., editor. In two volumes. (Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen and Company, 1916. 519, 568 p. Illustrated)

Compendium of History and Biography of Polk County, Minnesota. By MAJ. R. I. HOLCOMBE, historical editor, and WILLIAM H. BINGHAM, general editor. With special articles by various writers. (Minneapolis, W. H. Bingham and Company, 1916. 487 p. Illustrated)

The writing of county history appears to be a profitable commercial enterprise. But the value of local history lies not merely in the fact that it may be made the basis of a business undertaking. The material with which it deals deserves to be preserved in a permanent and carefully prepared form; for it is nothing less than the whole fascinating story of life, of development, from pioneer days to the present time, restricted, to be sure, to a comparatively small section of the state. Every phase of that life—economic, social, political, religious—has its peculiar signifi-

cance for the history of the West and of Minnesota. To write the history of the state as a whole in this way is a stupendous task, for there are eighty-six counties in Minnesota. But what a mine of information a set of carefully prepared histories of all these counties would be!

The primary motive underlying the output of county histories of this sort is, of course, commercial. To make a business success of his venture is the main problem the publisher has to solve, and, as a consequence, many features more or less open to criticism are included in the books in order to make them sell well to the people of the county. But if the writers have an adequate conception of what constitutes history, if they have had some training in the methods of historical writing, and if they do their work thoroughly and conscientiously, the resulting histories may have considerable scientific value despite the motive underlying their publication.

The present volumes give evidence of a better conception of what constitutes history, and show more care in preparation, than the average county history. "To perpetuate the story of these people [the pioneers] and to trace and record the social, religious, educational, political, and industrial progress of the community from its first inception, is the function of the local historian," declare B. F. Bowen and Company in their prefaces. To an unusual degree the *History of Otter Tail County* shows the careful use of documentary sources, many of them difficult of access. This can not be said, however, of the *History of Brown County,* just issued by this firm. H. C. Cooper Jr. and Company declare that the newspapers both of the county under study and of neighboring counties have been carefully perused, as well as county, township, village, city, and church records. In addition, the investigators have examined "hundreds of minute books" and "thousands of letters and original manuscripts." The value of this statement is lessened by the fact that it is a stereotyped phrase appearing in the forewords of several of the histories published by this company. In all fairness, however, one thing must be noted which undoubtedly makes the writing of county history difficult, and which has been responsible in part for the poor quality of the work done in this field, namely, the careless

and unsystematic way in which the local archives are kept. Classification of records, accessibility, and possibly centralization, to a certain degree, would greatly aid the local historian in his research.

The volumes under review contain 6,152 pages, of which 3,437, or considerably more than half, are devoted to biographical sketches. Some of these are similar in character to those found in county histories of the older type—very eulogistic, and well calculated to appeal both to a man's vanity and to his purse. In the *History of Polk County* the men described all appear to be well known, prominent, successful, eminent, strong, able, enterprising, progressive, frugal, and upright. In a somewhat less degree the inhabitants of Nicollet, Le Sueur, and Brown counties are showered with kindly adjectives. The estimates of the worth of the citizens of Otter Tail County are more conservative, though there is an occasional extravagant outburst. B. F. Bowen and Company disclaim responsibility for errors in this material, for "every biographical sketch in the work has been submitted to the party interested, for correction, and therefore any error of fact, if there be any, is solely due to the person for whom the sketch was prepared." In the Cooper histories the personal estimates are more moderate, and appear to have been written with discrimination. The editors have had the sketches revised and corrected by the subjects themselves, or by relatives or friends; but "all personal estimates are the work of the editors and inserted in biographies only after consultation with the various members of the staff." Eulogistic expressions in county histories are part of the publisher's stock in trade, of course, and, realizing this, one can be less severely critical of their use. The writer of these biographies should aim at moderation and accuracy, however, for these attributes add distinctly to their worth. In addition to making one familiar with a large number of residents in the county, these sketches are, in certain respects, a real historical source, though a source to be used only with care and judgment. For a study of a large group of people, sketches of this sort are of value, even though they may, in individual cases, contain inaccuracies. In investigating the sectional elements in population, in comparing immigration at various periods and in different aspects, and in other studies similar in character,

they may prove invaluable, and may furnish much intimate information not to be found in census statistics.

Of the six works under review, five are put out in two-volume form. Like most county histories, they are bulky. Those issued by the Bowen Company present the best appearance. In the quality of paper stock and binding, in illustrations, type, and other external features, these volumes leave little to be desired. While the Cooper works are not quite so attractive, yet they are, on the whole, elaborate, and well put up. The *History of Polk County,* on the other hand, is inferior in general appearance to the other volumes. Little effort has been made in all six histories to secure illustrations of real historical worth. The pictures are mainly portraits, views of public buildings, or present-day scenes, and of course these are not without some value. The *History of Polk County* has, however, a number of pictures of more definite historical interest. One is a view of the old crossing of Red Lake River, near Fisher, in 1858, made by Manton Marble, and printed in *Harper's Magazine* for January, 1861. There is also an interesting picture of a claim shanty erected in 1872, the first building in Crookston, and there are some early views of that city. The *History of Otter Tail County* has a view of Otter Tail City in 1858, and some pictures of Fergus Falls in 1871. A most noticeable defect in these histories is their lack of maps. Surely it ought to be possible in each case to print a good map of the county, showing the townships, villages, and cities that are discussed in the text in so much detail. Then, too, a map of Minnesota would not be amiss for the purpose of showing the geographical relations of the county to other counties of the state. In some of the volumes early exploration and early travels are discussed; such chapters, as well as those dealing with other phases of the history, might well be illustrated with maps. The publishers could increase the value of future histories by the inclusion of such recognized historical apparatus. All the books under review are equally deficient in this respect.

The general arrangement of material in these six histories is topical. A chronological account is given up to a certain point, rarely extending beyond the period of settlement; following this are separate chapters on such topics as military history, agricultual development, banks and banking, physicians and surgeons,

and the inevitable bench and bar. Were a chronological and connected history of a county to be given, the writer would have to exercise more discrimination as to what to include and what to omit. The Cooper histories differ from the others in the arrangement of the biographical material. The sketches, instead of being grouped together in one volume, are scattered about through both volumes in so-called "Biographical Reviews." The purpose of this arrangement is not apparent; the plan of giving a separate volume to the biographies, or of placing them at the end, is more logical than this hide-and-seek method. The Cooper histories have an index to portraits and another to biographies in the introductory pages of the first volumes. The same indexes are reprinted in the second volumes. There is no subject index. The Bowen histories contain fairly good historical and biographical indexes preceding the text in the first volumes and reprinted in the second volumes. The *History of Polk County* has a list of illustrations and an index of portraits in the front of the book, and at the end a general index, which is merely biographical, however. None of these books has an adequate general name-and-subject index, and only one has its index in the normal place at the end.

Much more attention is given to the period of exploration and to the early history of Minnesota in the histories published by the Cooper Company than in the Bowen group. In the latter, however, there is more compact information on the related history of the state. In the former histories appear lists of events during the period of exploration. The latter, on the other hand, contain a very curious chronology of Minnesota history, ranging from the expedition of Jean Nicollet to the recent discovery of discrepancies in the office of the state treasurer.

The method of production employed differs. The history of Wright County is written by Mr. Curtiss-Wedge, while that of Renville County is compiled by Mr. Curtiss-Wedge, "assisted by a large corps of local contributors." The history of Polk County has an historical and a general editor, and a large number of writers of special articles. The Bowen histories are edited by prominent local men, though most of the work, of course, is done by agents of the publishing company. The credit for writing

the *History of Otter Tail County* is given in Mr. Mason's foreword to that work to Ernest V. Schockley, Ph.D.

The chapters on geology in both the Otter Tail and Nicollet-Le Sueur histories are technical, and appear to be taken from or based upon the writings of a geologist. The account of the geology of Otter Tail County contains extracts from General Pope's report of 1850, in which a visit to the Otter Tail region is described.

A valuable feature of the *History of Otter Tail County* is the chapter summarizing the various legislative acts bearing on the county. This chapter and others, as, for example, those on the census of 1860, transportation, and churches, bear evidence of considerable research. One of the most valuable features of the book is the section devoted to reminiscences (pp. 536–694). Besides being of real historical value, some of these are extremely entertaining, particularly those of John W. Mason, the editor.

In the Nicollet-Le Sueur history a disproportionate amount of space is given to the Indian treaty of 1851. The account consists almost entirely of a compilation made by General Le Duc for his *Minnesota Year Book* for 1852, of letters written at Traverse des Sioux during the conference and printed in various contemporary newspapers. This compilation, somewhat abridged, was published in the *St. Peter Herald,* June 14–July 3, 1914, and later, with some additional material, was issued in pamphlet form by the St. Peter chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution with the title *A Brief Sketch and History of the Signing of the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux.* The letters are interesting, but a concise statement of the making of the treaty, based upon this material and other available sources, might have been more satisfactory from an historical standpoint. The account of the early settlement of Nicollet County is based largely upon Stephen R. Riggs's *Mary and I,* and upon the St. Peter newspapers of the sixties. It seems as though more might have been made of this phase of the county's history, for example, of the trading post at Traverse des Sioux established by Louis Provençal, agent of the American Fur Company. The Little Crow uprising is discussed by Dr. Asa Daniels in a chapter which is reprinted from volume 15 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections.* Chapter 17, prepared by Dr. Conrad Peterson, deals

with the Swedish-American element in Nicollet and Le Sueur counties, though merely in a general fashion. An examination of the biographical sketches shows clearly that the population of these counties is very heterogeneous in character. Of the subjects of the first one hundred sketches, for example, twenty-nine are foreign-born, forty-eight are of foreign parentage, and twenty-three of native parentage, the countries represented being Germany, Sweden, Norway, Bohemia, England, Brazil, Canada, Wales, Switzerland, Ireland, Scotland, and France. A general discussion of all the foreign elements and their influence might, therefore, have been of considerable value.

The *History of Brown County* falls far short of the standard set by its publishers in their *History of Otter Tail County.* Although the volume contains less than half as much material, they have been able, by the use of wide margins and large type, to give it the conventional bulk of a county history. The first forty pages, for instance, are made up of the same material, word for word, that occupies the first twenty-three pages of the Otter Tail history. In general, the book appears to have been put together hurriedly, with as little expenditure of effort as possible. Little thorough investigation of documentary sources is apparent, the writers preferring to keep to the beaten path. The chapter on the Indian massacre of 1862, containing 138 pages, is almost entirely a compilation of reminiscences, most of which had been printed before. The narrative opens with an extensive account of the outbreak taken from the writings of Rev. Alexander Berghold. This is followed by the section on the Milford massacre by Christopher Spellbrink, and by Therese Henle's account. Next comes an extract from Daniel Buck's *Indian Outbreaks,* followed by Dr. Asa W. Daniels' reminiscences, so often utilized. The chapter closes with material reprinted from the Nicollet-Le Sueur volume. In such a compilation there is naturally considerable duplication. The most valuable material in the book is found in the chapters on pioneer settlement and township organization. One looks in vain for any satisfactory discussion of the German element, which forms so large a proportion of the population of this county.

The opening sentences of the Wright and Renville histories illustrate a certain economy of effort that is apparent to a great

extent in the first chapters of these works, and, indeed, in most similar publications. "On its splendid course from Itasca to the Gulf, the mighty Mississippi passes no fairer land than that which it touches in the central part of Minnesota, where, well tilled and populous, Wright county stretches away in sightly prospects." "On its splendid course through the mighty state to which it has given its noble name, the turgid Minnesota passes no fairer land than that which it touches from Hawk Creek to Camp, where, well tilled and populous, Renville county stretches away in sightly prospects." But this is giving away the secrets of the trade! In both works are included chapters which give from the land office records the names of the original claimants of land in the various townships of the counties. An introduction to this list very properly points out its value and significance, speaking of it as "the roll of honor of those who dared the rigors of a pioneer country and started the first developments." In the first volume of the *History of Renville County* more than 120 pages are given to the Sioux outbreak, a considerable part of this material consisting of reminiscences already in print. Chapter 23, volume 2, of the *History of Wright County* contains a mass of what appears to be valuable information in regard to the townships and villages. Special chapters are: "Pioneer Boyhood," which gives the experiences of John B. Walker; "Swedish Influence," prepared with the assistance of Rev. S. Johnson; "The Catholic Church in Wright County," by Rev. Mathias Savs; "Dairying and Creameries," edited by E. G. Redman; and "County Schools," by August A. Zech. In chapter 18 eleven pages are given over to "Wright County Murder Trials," in which many gory and hair-raising details are carefully elaborated. There is little significance in including this material, but naturally some thrills must be supplied.

In the *Compendium of History and Biography of Polk County* there is an introductory chapter on its geography and geology by Warren Upham, fortunately not too technical. The following 122 pages are devoted to the history of the county. The rest of the volume, 341 pages, is biography. Special chapters to be noted are: "History of Agriculture in Polk County," "The Northwest School of Agriculture and Experiment Station," and

"The Crookston School of Agriculture," all three written by Mr. C. G. Selvig; "The Newspapers of Polk County," by W. E. McKenzie; "Crookston and Its Institutions," by James A. Cathcart; "The Schools of Polk County," by N. A. Thorson; and "The Rise and Fall of Columbia County," by Charles L. Conger. The series of historical chapters dealing with the early Indian inhabitants, the first white men in Polk County, the fur-traders, early American explorations in the Red River Valley, and the chief historic features of early times, has been written with considerable care, and there are occasional concise references to the sources used. In connection with the discussion of the first white men in Polk County, the writer gives considerable attention to the Kensington rune stone. He inclines to a belief in its genuineness, and asserts that "this opinion is firmly held by a large majority of the experts that have examined it. Those who doubt its authenticity do so on seemingly insufficient grounds." Attention is called to the report on the subject in volume 15 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections,* but no mention is made of Professor Flom's investigation, the results of which have been published by the Illinois Historical Society. Mr. Flom, as the spokesman of a committee of seven university professors, each chosen because of his philological knowledge of Old Norse, pronounced the inscription on the stone a forgery of recent manufacture.

The manner of arrangement of the contents and the coöperative method of production of these histories make impossible any sustained excellence of style. Much of the writing is perfervid and journalistic, with little attention to nicety of distinction in word-meanings. The desire to please subscribers and to do full honor to the pioneers leads to a distressingly tumid kind of writing, and to a positive scourge of triteness. But there are indications of more thorough and serious research into available sources than has heretofore obtained in publications of this sort. If superficiality can thus be eliminated, faults of style may well be condoned.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

History of the First Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, 1861–1864. (Stillwater, Minnesota, Easton and Masterman, printers, 1916. 8, 508 p.)

In its origin and general features this work conforms to the typical Civil War regimental history. It is a compilation made under the direction of a commission composed largely of members of the regiment. Its plan is chronological. It is never uncomplimentary. A roster of the regiment, a number of addresses, and other addenda are included. But in its subject matter the book profits by the distinction which this regiment has long enjoyed. The First Minnesota was the body of men which made good the first tender of volunteer troops in the Civil War. It was the only Minnesota regiment in the Army of the Potomac. Its members were the heroes of a famous charge made at a critical moment in the battle of Gettysburg against overwhelming numbers and at the cost of eighty-two per cent of the men engaged. These and other facts about the regiment, notable and otherwise, are treated by the compiler, R. I. Holcombe, in the spirit and with the understanding possible only to one who himself participated in the great conflict.

The narrative opens with an account of the stirring scenes attendant upon Governor Ramsey's tender of a thousand men to President Lincoln, of the call for volunteers, of the organization and mustering-in of the First Minnesota, of the work of drilling and equipping the men, and of their departure for Washington in response to the call to service in the East. As the regiment soon joined the Army of the Potomac, with which almost its entire three years of service were spent, the greater part of the narrative is concerned with the campaigns and battles of that famous organization in the so-called eastern theatre of the war—Virginia, Maryland, and southern Pennsylvania. The period of inactivity following the regiment's baptism of fire at Bull Run is described as a time of incessant drill, picket duty, and intermittent skirmishes with the enemy. Several chapters are devoted to the Peninsular campaign, in which the pioneers from Minnesota gained distinction by providing for the Union forces a much-needed passage over the Chickahominy by the construction of the so-called grapevine bridge over that stream.

At Antietam, Fredericksburg, and in minor engagements the Minnesotans acquitted themselves well, but the climax of the regiment's career was reached when, at Gettysburg, in the words of James J. Hill, Colonel Colvill "shouted the 'Charge' that sent the First Minnesota to death and glory where the Nation's future was wavering in the balance." After Gettysburg nothing of especial interest is recounted of the surviving remnant of the regiment, unless it be the description of the trip to New York City, whither it was sent to prevent a repetition of the draft riots of July, 1863. The story closes with an account of the regiment's return to Minnesota in 1864 at the end of its term of service, of the reception accorded it in Washington, and of the heroes' welcome it received at home.

Although it was the avowed purpose of the compilers to include extended accounts of the operations of other troops only when needed "to properly frame the actions or services of the regiment," the amount of space devoted to such material is very considerable, and might well have been reduced by condensations and by the elimination of a few lengthy repetitions. The reader never entirely loses sight of the regiment, however, and the readableness of the narrative is enhanced by inspiriting passages, humorous incidents, information about names and places, and a style of writing in which there occasionally crop out colloquialisms of both ancient and modern vintage.

In general, the book is reliable, though it is well to examine the grounds for particular assertions. For example, on page 2 appears the statement that Governor Ramsey, after his tender of troops to Lincoln, "promptly telegraphed the acting Governor of Minnesota, Lieut-Gov. Ignatius Donnelly, instructing him to issue an immediate call for volunteers." This is evidently drawn from Lieutenant William Lochren's "Narrative of the First Regiment" in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars* (volume 1, page 2). But on page 2 of the second volume of the same work appears a copy of a telegram from Ramsey to Adjutant General Acker directing him to issue a proclamation in his (Ramsey's) name. Also, a letter in the Donnelly Papers leaves no doubt that Donnelly received no such order, and that he issued the proclamation on his own initiative as acting governor.

From the point of view of the student of history more complete references to authorities would have been desirable. The authority most frequently cited is referred to by the use of the author's name alone. Inasmuch as this work happens to be included in a volume with a number of others, it is not easily located. The book contains half-tone engravings of Governor Ramsey, of the four successive colonels of the regiment, of monuments and tablets commemorating the regiment's deeds, and of members of the commission in charge of the preparation of the history. There are four maps illustrative of the operations centering at Gettysburg. The index is quite inadequate, and there is no list of maps and illustrations.

FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK

Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Its Sixty-third Annual Meeting, October 21, 1915. (Madison, the society, 1916. 231 p.)

As is customary in the series to which it belongs, this volume contains the minutes of the annual meeting of the society, the report of the executive committee, reports of auxiliary societies, the annual address, and a number of historical papers, which were read by title only at the meeting. The report of the executive committee is an admirable statement of the activities of the society for the year ending September 30, 1915, with suggestions for "future expansion." The society's disbursements for the year, exclusive of two large items for property repairs and insurance, amounted to about fifty-eight thousand dollars, of which nearly forty thousand dollars were for services and thirteen thousand for books, furniture, museum exhibits, and binding.

Notable among the manuscript acquisitions reported is a set of the papers of the federal commission on industrial relations, consisting of the exhaustive reports of investigations and hearings which formed the basis of the published report of the commission. This is a duplicate of the set filed with the bureau of labor at Washington, and contains material of immense value for "economists of the present day, as well as historians of the future." The extensive search which the society has carried on for a number of years in the United States archives at Washington has

resulted in the acquisition of photographic copies of ten thousand pages of manuscript from the House files and twenty-five thousand from the Indian office. In the former case the search extended to 1848, in the latter to 1860, and in both not only everything of importance relating to Wisconsin but much of value to the surrounding region has been secured. About eight hundred pages of manuscript relating to the fur trade in the Northwest were copied from originals in the collections of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, and sixteen hundred prints of documents in the Cuban archives were secured, "the contents of which pertain to the activities of the Spanish in the Mississippi Valley." The society has recently established a department for the repair and mounting of manuscripts, which is slowly putting its invaluable collections into condition for consultation and permanent preservation. Among new projects planned or under way are an historical atlas of the state, a documentary history of Wisconsin's constitutions, and the publication of the state's executive records, which will run to many volumes. The suggestion which was put forward in the report for 1914 that attention should be given to the subject of the adequate housing and care of the state archives is renewed with vigor. The society responded to the suggestion by appointing a special committee to take up the matter.

The annual address, which is by Gaillard Hunt, chief of the division of manuscripts of the Library of Congress, is entitled "The President of the United States." Among the other papers in the volume are two of special interest to students of Minnesota history: "British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782–92; Mediation and an Indian Barrier State," by Orpha E. Leavitt; and "Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau." The latter is a tripartite production consisting of an "Archeological Sketch," by Eben D. Pierce; "Additional Archeological Details," by George H. Squier; and an "Historical Sketch," by Louise Phelps Kellogg. The conclusion is reached that "Perrot's wintering establishment, 1685–86" and "Linctot's post, probably 1731–36" were at the same place "near Mount Trempealeau, and that there is much reason to think that the exact site has at length been discovered and explored."

The volume closes with an important document, "Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal—and Others," edited by the superintendent, Dr. M. M. Quaife. The document, which appears to have been put together for the benefit of Lewis and Clark in the winter of 1803–4, opens with an account of the Grand Portage on Lake Superior and of the routes leading thence into the Canadian Northwest. This is followed by accounts of expeditions up the Missouri in 1795 and 1796 and by "Notes on the Above Jurnals Made by John Hay." These notes include a "Description of the Route from Makina to the Interior parts of the North West Country by the South Side of Lake Superior; which Journey or Voyage was performed by John Hay and others in the Year 1794"—a narrative of special interest to the student of early Minnesota history. Hay made his way from Grand Portage up the St. Louis River and by way of Sandy Lake to the Mississippi, then down that stream to the Crow Wing, up the Crow Wing and Leaf rivers and by way of Otter Tail Lake to the Red River, down that stream and up the Assiniboine. Detailed information is given about directions, distances, and portages, and the journal throws considerable light on conditions of travel and transportation in northern Minnesota at the close of the eighteenth century.

SOLON J. BUCK

Strong and Woodman Manuscript Collections in the Wisconsin State Historical Library (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Bulletins of Information,* no. 78). (Madison, the society, November, 1915. 22 p.)

The Keyes and the Civil War Manuscript Collections in the Wisconsin Historical Library (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Bulletins of Information,* no. 81). (Madison, the society, March, 1916. 20 p.)

In these two pamphlets the Wisconsin Historical Society supplements its *Descriptive List of Manuscript Collections* with rather full accounts of four large collections of papers recently acquired. All these collections have a value that transcends the boundaries of Wisconsin, and two of them contain considerable material pertinent to Minnesota history. The Moses M. Strong

collection covers the years 1825 to 1894 and will, when the process of repairing and binding is completed, comprise over two hundred volumes. Strong located in Mineral Point in 1836, and from 1838 to 1841 was United States district attorney for Wisconsin territory, which included Minnesota east of the Mississippi River. He led an active life as a lawyer, politician, surveyor, land agent, land speculator, lumberman, miner, railroad promoter, and historian, and all these activities are reflected in the papers. His operations in land extended into Minnesota, and he was connected with various enterprises for the promotion of railroads from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi and elsewhere in Wisconsin and Minnesota. The papers in the collection relating to lumbering furnish a detailed picture of that industry as it was conducted in the pine woods of the upper Mississippi and its tributaries. The Cyrus Woodman collection is somewhat similar in character and of even more interest to Minnesota. It covers from 1832 to 1889, and fills 181 volumes. Woodman came to Wisconsin in 1844, and he, also, located at Mineral Point. For the first eleven years he was in partnership with C. C. Washburn in land operations in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and other western states. His interests included also lumbering, banking, mining, railroad promotion, and politics, and his papers, like those of Strong, contain a wealth of material for nearly all aspects of the history of the upper Mississippi Valley in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The papers of Elisha W. Keyes cover from about 1850 to 1910, and are of value primarily for the political history of Wisconsin, although they undoubtedly contain correspondence with Minnesota politicians. The collection, which fills over a hundred manuscript boxes, is not accessible to the public as yet because of the confidential character of many of the papers. The Civil War collection is a part of the archives of the state, comprising all documents found in the governor's vault, "which in any way touched upon the activities of Wisconsin . . . during the Civil War." It contains about thirty thousand papers and twenty-eight bound volumes. This invaluable historical material, which was formerly practically inaccessible to students, was turned over to the society in 1914, and has been carefully classified and arranged. The bulk of it relates to the organization and administration of

the army, to relief work, and to military affairs. One group, consisting of communications and papers exchanged with departments of the federal government and executives of other states, doubtless contains Minnesota material. All these collections, and especially the first two, should be searched for documents bearing on Minnesota history, and a calendar, or better still, photostatic copies of such documents should be secured for the Minnesota Historical Society.

S. J. B.

Life Story of Rasmus B. Anderson. Written by himself with the assistance of ALBERT O. BARTON. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1915. xix, 678 p.)

The parents of Mr. Anderson were among the early Norwegian immigrants to America, coming to this country in 1836. Mr. Anderson was born ten years later. This life story, therefore, spans almost the whole period of Norwegian immigration. Its author has been for a long time a prominent figure among the Norwegians in this country, and has been connected in peculiar degree with many of the movements in this element. At present he is the editor of *Amerika,* a well-known Norwegian weekly newspaper, in the columns of which the present autobiography appeared. He has been professor of Scandinavian languages and literature at the University of Wisconsin, and from 1885 to 1889 he served as United States minister to Denmark. Mr. Anderson has been particularly eminent as a writer. Appended to the present work is a bibliography of his writings which lists between forty and fifty items. The best-known of these are perhaps *Norse Mythology, Viking Tales of the North, America not Discovered by Columbus,* and *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration.* The latter deals with the period 1821–40, and, though somewhat verbose and in parts uncritical, is of much value. As a translator Mr. Anderson has turned into English some seven volumes of the writings of Björnstjerne Björnson, in addition to Winkel Horn's *History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North,* Rydberg's *Teutonic Mythology,* and other works. He is also the editor of the sumptuous *Norræna Library,* in sixteen volumes, and the four-volume edition of the *Heims-*

kringla. His literary productions, especially his translations, have been extensive. Because of his activity in these directions, and the pioneer nature of this work, he has been called the father of Norwegian literature in America.

Mr. Barton writes in his preface that Mr. Anderson's "autobiography will be particularly interesting from two points of view, his accounts of the beginnings of Norwegian settlements in this country, and his recollections and estimates of notables he met not only during his five years' residence near the court of Denmark, but also before and since." From the standpoint of immigration the book contributes little that is new. Some of the material can be found, in another form, in his *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration.* On the other hand, there is interest and significance in his recollections of prominent men. Among these are to be noted especially a number of church leaders in the Norwegian Synod in the sixties, as well as later churchmen in the Northwest, such as Professors Sven Oftedal and Georg Sverdrup; likewise men connected with the beginnings of educational work among the Scandinavians in the West; distinguished Norwegians, more especially the poet Björnson, Henrik Ibsen, and Ole Bull, and a large number of prominent Danes and Swedes with whom Mr. Anderson associated while United States minister to Denmark; literary men like Longfellow, John Fiske, Bayard Taylor, Mark Twain, W. D. Howells, and others; politicians and local leaders in Wisconsin and other northwestern states. Many interesting names occur in these pages, and frequently the accompanying characterizations are shrewd, although occasionally the strong personal bias of the writer is apparent.

Mr. Anderson is a controversialist of the first rank, and in his disputes he can be exceedingly obstinate, bitter, and persistent. Naturally he has made many enemies; in fact, he feels that he has alienated the majority of his countrymen in the United States. In the accounts of these controversies much light is thrown upon the conditions that have obtained among Norsemen in this country—their religious, social, and educational activity.

Like many autobiographies this is in some degree a defence. In connection with many of the affairs of which Mr. Anderson writes, bitter feeling and deadly animosity are still harbored.

Parts of the book are therefore in themselves controversial, as, for example, the chapter dealing with the Norwegian Society, an organization the purpose of which was to promote Norwegian culture. Mr. Anderson had protested vigorously against the sort of literature produced by Ibsen, Björnson, Brandes, and other prominent Norwegian writers, in their later years, and he found himself opposed by most of the Norwegian-American newspapers. He also carried on a spirited campaign for the purpose of purging the Norwegian newspapers of unclean and vicious advertisements. As one of the founders, he proposed that the Norwegian Society should be a Christian, and to all intents and purposes a Lutheran, organization. The admirers of the later works of Ibsen and Björnson, he felt, would have "to take a back seat." A violent controversy ensued, and complete control of the Norwegian Society passed into the hands of Mr. Anderson's opponents. Another chapter is devoted to R. M. La Follette. Unlike the majority of Norwegians in Wisconsin, Mr. Anderson has been a stern opponent of La Follette, and considerable space is used in an attempt to prove that the Wisconsin senator is the Iago of American politics. There are few matters in which Mr. Anderson has not been in the right, according to his story; but of course most controversies have two sides. The following is a typical sentence: "While I was defending decency, morality, and Christianity my enemies made me the object of persecution, and most of those who ought to be my friends left me in the lurch" (p. 630).

As a source of information regarding the Norwegian element in this country, as well as an intimate study of Rasmus B. Anderson, this life story is of considerable value, but it will have to be used with utmost care. Things are looked at from one point of view throughout, and the author is strictly partisan. Moreover, an autobiographer is naturally the center of the story which he weaves, and the perspective may, therefore, at times be greatly distorted. The rôle of a writer may not always have been what his own recital suggests. Careful study of evidence is necessary in order to determine just what his true position was. Throughout this volume the author relates in considerable detail the many honors that have been conferred upon him. In referring to his publications, he supplies copious extracts from favorable reviews,

and has much to say about the influence of his writings, and the effect of his speeches.

Mr. Anderson has rendered a very worthy service by making America familiar with the great literary wealth of Scandinavia. For this alone he will occupy no insignificant place in the history of the Norwegian element in the United States, and his autobiography will have permanent value.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

By the Great Wall: Letters from China. Selected correspondence of ISABELLA RIGGS WILLIAMS, missionary of the American Board to China, 1866–97. With an introduction by ARTHUR H. SMITH. (New York, etc., Fleming H. Revell Company, 1909. 400 p. Illustrated)

The writer of the letters published in this volume was a daughter of Stephen R. Riggs, the famous missionary to the Sioux Indians in Minnesota. The first chapter, entitled "A Goodly Heritage," deals with the life and experiences of the Riggs family in Minnesota. It opens with a few pages of memories of the early days in the mission home at Lac qui Parle by Anna Riggs Warner, another daughter, and continues with letters written by Isabella Riggs, mostly from Minnesota, during the years 1854 to 1865. This chapter forms an interesting supplement to the classic account in *Mary and I, or Forty Years with the Sioux,* by the father of the family.

In 1866 Isabella Riggs was married to Mark Williams, and in a few weeks the young couple started for China to devote their lives to missionary work. The remainder of the book, with the exception of the last chapter, consists of letters from China from 1866 to the death of the writer in 1897, and presents a vivid picture of missionary activities and of Chinese life and conditions. The last chapter contains letters, mostly from China, by a daughter, Henrietta Williams, whose death followed shortly upon that of her mother.

S. J. B.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Considerable progress has been made by the library staff, with the assistance for a few weeks of Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, in the work of checking, classifying, and cataloguing the Nelson collection of material relating to the Scandinavians in the United States. Several hundred of the pamphlets, including a number of very rare items, have been bound. The issue of *Folkebladet* (Minneapolis) for July 19 contains an article in English by Mr. Blegen entitled "The Minnesota Historical Society," which deals especially with the work and plans of the society in the field of Scandinavian-American history. It contains a brief description of the Nelson collection, with a list of some of the more important titles. The article is reprinted in the August 11 issue of *Amerika,* published by Rasmus B. Anderson at Madison, Wisconsin.

The society has lost two members of the executive council by death recently: Mr. James J. Hill, who died May 29, and Mr. Edward C. Stringer of St. Paul, whose death occurred July 8. A memorial address in honor of Mr. Hill will be presented by Mr. J. G. Pyle at the annual meeting of the society in January. Mr. Pyle is writing a biography of Mr. Hill which will be published serially in *World's Work,* the first installment to appear in the October number.

General Le Duc's article on the "Genesis of the Typewriter" in the February number of the BULLETIN was reprinted in full in the March issue of the *Magazine of History* without any indication that it had ever been published before.

GIFTS

Mr. Edward E. Ayer of Chicago has presented number 93 of a three-hundred edition of *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630,* translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer and annotated by Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis (Chicago, privately printed, 1916. xiii, 309 p.). Copies of the original Spanish edition of this work, which was printed in

Madrid in 1630, are extremely rare, the one from which the present translation was made being found in the remarkable collection of books and manuscripts relating to the American Indians which Mr. Ayer has gathered together and which he has given to the Newberry Library in Chicago. Father Benavides spent seven years traveling throughout the province of New Mexico as a missionary, and in his *Memorial* set down an account of the country and of the Indian tribes dwelling therein—invaluable source material for the student of the Southwest. Detailed and scholarly annotations add to the serviceableness of the work. The translation is accompanied by a facsimile reproduction, page for page, of the original Spanish text, and by forty photogravure plates giving views of old mission churches and other appropriate scenes. An excellent quality of paper, pleasing type, and an attractive binding contribute to the making of a volume which, in its format, leaves little to be desired.

Two interesting additions to the society's collection of books in the Dakota language are *Wowapi Wakan: the Holy Bible, Containing the Greater Part of the Old Testament and the New Testament in the Dakota Language,* translated from the originals by T. S. Williamson and S. R. Riggs, missionaries (New York, American Bible Society, 1877); and *Hymns in Dakota for Use in the Missionary Jurisdiction of Niobrara,* published by the Indian Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The volumes are gifts from Mr. E. A. Bromley.

A copy of the *Minnesota Advertiser,* the first paper published in St. Cloud, for August 27, 1857—number 32 of volume 1—has been received from Hon. W. B. Mitchell of St. Cloud. It bears the names of George F. Brott as proprietor and James Mowatt as publisher, thus supplementing the information given by Daniel S. B. Johnston in his article on territorial journalism in the *Minnesota Historical Collections* (vol. 10, part 1, p. 312). As was the case with so many of the early papers, the *Advertiser* appears to have been run primarily to promote the interests of the town site. The last page of this issue contains a sketch of "St. Cloud,—Her Resources and Prospects," accompanied by a large "Map of Minnesota" showing all roads and railroads centering in the embryo city.

Mr. Marion P. Satterlee of Minneapolis has compiled a "List of Victims of the Sioux Indian Massacre of 1862, in Minnesota," a copy of which he has deposited with the society. After extensive research during a period of more than four years, Mr. Satterlee believes that he has succeeded in securing the names of practically all who were murdered, killed in battle, or died of starvation, as a result of the outbreak. The list contains the names of 391 settlers and 76 soldiers, making a total of 467.

Through its secretary-treasurer, Mr. Benjamin Brack of St. Paul, the Eleventh Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Association has presented to the society a valuable album containing photographs of the members of Company C, Eleventh Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. The pictures were taken at Fort Snelling, July, 1865, when the company was mustered out of the federal service. The album, which contains also photographs of most of the first sergeants, all the company officers, and the field and staff officers of the regiment, was presented to their captain, Theodore E. Potter, by the men of the company as an expression of their affection for him.

Mr. H. T. Drake of St. Paul has procured from an English book dealer and presented to the society a set of the monumental and profusely illustrated work entitled *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England,* now first collected and deciphered by Professor George Stephens, F.S.A., which was published in London in three parts dated 1866, 1868, and 1884.

Some thirty large boxes of books from the library of Senator W. D. Washburn, mostly government documents, have been presented by Hon. W. D. Washburn Jr. He has also presented to the state a marble bust of Senator Washburn and a large painting of Lincoln by George Peter Alexander Healy, dated 1887. The bust will be placed in the senate chamber of the Capitol, and the picture will hang in the hall of the house of representatives.

Governor Burnquist has turned over to the society a curious pointed bullet received from Mr. Henry Buck of Le Sueur. It is a specimen of the balls used in the old Russian muskets which were supplied to settlers by Governor Ramsey in 1862 in order that they might protect themselves against the Indians. Mr.

Buck, who came to Minnesota in 1852, was one of the settlers thus equipped.

An interesting addition to the society's exhibit of old firearms is a Colt pistol deposited by Mr. Charles H. Kilbourne of Minneapolis, to whose father, Major L. S. Kilbourne of the Seventy-second Indiana Volunteers, it was surrendered in October, 1863, by Frank Gurley, the Confederate guerilla leader. Gurley stated that it was the weapon with which he had killed General Robert Latimer McCook of the Army of the Ohio on August 6, 1862.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Charles L. Alden of Troy, New York, the society has received a framed copy of a portrait of her father Consul James W. Taylor, a sketch of whose life appeared in the BULLETIN for November, 1915. The original painting, executed by V. A. Long in 1893, hangs in the city hall of Winnipeg.

Mr. E. A. Bromley has presented two blue-print plans for the reconstruction and enlargement of Fort Snelling, drawn in 1902 and 1903. On the back of one of them is a penciled sketch of the plan of the fort in 1844.

Miss Margaret M. Burdick of Minneapolis has presented a small oil painting, executed about 1854, of Fort Garry, located on the site of the present city of Winnipeg. The painting belonged to her father Mr. R. C. Burdick, who was for a number of years a member of the society. Mr. Burdick came to St. Paul in 1851 and later lived for a time at Fort Garry.

Mr. William R. Weide of St. Paul has presented a crayon portrait of his father Nicholas Bernard Weide, who came to St. Paul in 1853 and opened a grocery store on Third Street.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The Chicago Historical Society's *Annual Report* for the year ending October 31, 1915 (120 p.) announces the acquisition of "some 3000 manuscripts known as the Law Family Papers, purchased last summer. These papers cover the half century from 1800–1850 and throw light upon the fur-trade of the entire Northwest." The account of the history lectures for school children given weekly in the society's building is suggestive of what might be done in other cities.

The *Third Annual Report* for 1915 of the Michigan Historical Commission (1916. 16 p.) announces that "the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs have arranged a prize essay contest open to pupils in Michigan schools of the eighth grade in the high school or of corresponding grade in any other school. The subject of the essays is the settlement and development of the city or town in which the essay is being written."

Various phases of general northwestern history are touched upon in "Episodes in the Early History of the Des Moines Valley," by Jacob Van der Zee in the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. The article covers from the beginning of explorations to the Black Hawk War, and is to be followed by another "dealing with the opening of the valley to settlement by the whites." The same issue contains the third of the series of articles by Ruth A. Gallaher on "Indian Agents in Iowa," this one dealing specifically with "Agents among the Sacs and Foxes."

"Virginia and the West; an Interpretation," by Clarence W. Alvord, in the June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* presents certain aspects of western history before and during the revolutionary period in quite a different light from that in which they usually appear. The same number contains a suggestive article by Louis B. Schmidt on "The Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study" and a useful

survey of "Historical Activities in the Old Northwest" during the past year by Arthur C. Cole.

The excellent paper by Dr. John W. Oliver on "The Position of the Historian in Statehood Centennials," which was read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Nashville last April, has been printed in the June issue of the *Bulletin* of the Indiana State Library.

Two biographies of Lord Strathcona, recently published, are of interest to students of Minnesota history, especially in connection with the beginnings of the Great Northern Railroad. They are *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal,* by Beckles Willson (Boston, 1915. 2 v.) and *Strathcona and the Making of Canada,* by W. T. R. Preston (New York, 1915. xi, 324 p.). Professor George M. Wrong of the University of Toronto thus characterizes the two works in an admirable review published in the July issue of the *American Historical Review:* "Following quickly upon the death of Lord Strathcona these two lives have appeared, Mr. Willson's a eulogy, Mr. Preston's the opposite. Mr. Willson thinks that Lord Strathcona was so great a factor in the life of Canada that his name was 'long synonymous throughout the British Empire with Canada itself'; Mr. Preston considers Lord Strathcona an opportunist, bent on creating a fortune, the servant of great financial interests, the corrupter of political morality in Canada by the lavish use of money in elections. Mr. Willson has had the advantage of access to Lord Starthcona's papers and is, of course, highly official in tone; Mr. Preston writes as an outside critic who has lived through the events he describes. Mr. Willson is diffuse, in two volumes, Mr. Preston is brief and sometimes pungent." Another work on the same subject by Dr. George Bryce appeared serially in the *Canadian Magazine* from July, 1915, to March, 1916, under the title "The Real Strathcona."

Memoirs, Historical and Edifying, of a Missionary Apostolic of the Order of Saint Dominic among Various Indian Tribes and among the Catholics and Protestants in the United States of America is the title of a book issued by Saint Clara College at Sinsinawa, Wisconsin (1915. xxv, 375 p.). The book is a trans-

lation by Sister Mary Benedicta Kennedy of Saint Clara Convent of the work of Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, written in Italian and published in Milan in 1844. Father Mazzuchelli came to the Northwest as a missionary priest in 1830, and his narrative is a valuable source of information about religious activities and general development in the upper Mississippi Valley, particularly Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois, during the following years. The translation is preceded by an introduction by Archbishop Ireland, which is an account and appreciation of the work of Mazzuchelli. The volume contains a half-tone engraving of the copy of Mazzuchelli's portrait in Saint Clara College and facsimile reproductions of three maps and the frontispiece from the original work. A reproduction of the original title-page and a good index would have added to the value of the book. The so-called "Index" at the end is merely a table of contents and should have been placed at the beginning.

In an article entitled "The Massacre of Seven Oaks" in the *Manitoba Free Press* of June 17, 1916, Isaac Cowie describes the tragedy which marked the culmination of the bitterly waged contest between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company for the control of the fur trade of the Red River and Saskatchewan regions, the immediate occasion being the attempt of Lord Selkirk, backed by the Hudson's Bay Company, to plant an agricultural colony on the Red River. In the same issue of the *Press* is an account of the ceremony commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the Seven Oaks massacre to be held on June 19 at the monument erected in Winnipeg in 1891 to mark the spot where Governor Semple and twenty of his men from Fort Douglas, the colony headquarters, were killed.

The passenger traffic department of the Great Northern Railway Company has recently published "an annotated time table" entitled *See America First* (1916. 168 p.), in which many interesting things, "scenic, geographic, agricultural, industrial, and historical" are told of each station which the traveler comes to along the various lines of this transcontinental road. Added interest and value are gained by the use of numerous maps and illustrations. Pages 1–19, 31–37, and 135–148 contain the notes on Minnesota stations.

The office of judge-advocate-general of the United States army has issued a revised edition of *United States Military Reservations, National Cemeteries, and Military Parks* (1916. 544 p.), a section of which deals with the title and rights of jurisdiction of the federal government in the St. Louis River military reservation, the St. Paul quartermaster and commissary depot, and the Fort Snelling reservation.

The *American-Scandinavian Review* for July–August, 1916, contains a brief sketch of Erik Norelius, president emeritus of the Swedish Augustana Synod, whose death occurred on March 15. Dr. Norelius came to Minnesota in the fifties, and has been prominently identified with the religious and educational work of the state.

There are signs that the states are waking up to the importance of taking proper care of their archives. The Virginia legislature recently appropriated four thousand dollars for the purchase of fire-proof filing cases for the manuscripts of the state department of archives and history.

The cause of western history lost one of its most enthusiastic workers in the death, on June 14, of Mr. Clarence S. Paine, secretary of the Nebraska Historical Society. Mr. Paine was a leader in the organization and development of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and served it as secretary-treasurer from its beginning until his death.

The history faculty of the University of Minnesota will be increased this fall by two new appointments, Professor Carl Becker from Kansas University and Dr. Wayne E. Stevens from the University of Illinois. Professor Becker's special field of work is the eighteenth century in both Europe and America. Dr. Stevens has just completed his graduate work, his major subject being American history, and his thesis a study of the "Fur Trade in the Old Northwest, 1774–1796." An addition to the history faculty of Hamline University is Dr. J. D. Hicks, who received his degree from the University of Wisconsin last June.

The leading event of the home-coming celebration in Mankato July 1–4 was the production of the Mankato historical pageant, in which were portrayed some of the principal events in the history and development of the city. The pageant was given on July 4 in Sibley Park on ground where at least two of the incidents represented, the coming of Le Sueur and the sentencing of the thirty-eight Sioux Indians for participation in the outbreak of 1862, actually took place. Although planned by the Anthony Wayne Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, the pageant was a community affair, over eight hundred persons taking part in the production. It consisted of seven tableaux or episodes. In the first was pictured an Indian village of 1700, whither came Le Sueur and his company of French voyageurs and miners, searching for copper. The treaty of Traverse des Sioux, 1851, was the subject of the second, the gathering of the Indian tribes, the arrival of the United States commissioners, the speeches made on both sides, and the signing of the treaty being graphically reproduced. In the third episode—the settlement of Mankato, 1852—was shown the arrival of the first English settlers and of the first German families, followed by the coming of the Welsh immigrants. The fourth episode—the log schoolhouse, 1855—consisted for the most part of processions and dances symbolic of what education means to an individual and to a community. The fifth episode—the boys of '61—representing the first company of volunteers recruited for the Civil War and their departure for the front, was typical of a scene enacted in the village many times during the four-year conflict. In the sixth episode was unfolded the tragedy of the Sioux outbreak of 1862. The coming of the Scandinavian settlers after the Civil War and the part played by this important element in the life of the community formed the subject of the seventh episode and was illustrated by the reproduction of Swedish folk dances and a Norwegian peasant wedding. Interludes in the form of appropriate music and symbolic dances added to the beauty of the production. A twenty-four-page pamphlet containing a brief synopsis of each episode and the names of those taking part in it, together with historical and explanatory notes, was issued by the pageant committee in the form of a souvenir program.

One of the results of the interest aroused in local history by the production of the Mankato historical pageant was the organization of the Blue Earth County Historical Society, incorporated May 30, 1916. The society will collect, preserve, and publish materials relating to the history and development of the county, will obtain biographic sketches and portraits of its pioneers and prominent citizens, and gather articles of historic interest and value for a museum. It will maintain also for the general public a library of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts relating to local and general history. Three members of the Minnesota Historical Society are among the charter members of the county society, Thomas Hughes, George M. Palmer, and Judge Lorin Cray, all of Mankato, the latter being chosen as president.

"The Pageant of Lake Minnetonka" was presented at Excelsior Commons, Lake Minnetonka, on the evenings of July 27–29, 1916, under the patronage of the Woman's Club of Lake Minnetonka. The scenario of the pageant, comprising four acts, was written by Willard Dillman of Excelsior. It follows in its bare outlines the plan one is becoming accustomed to in Minnesota pageants. The first tableau opens with an Indian village scene and closes with the arrival of the French explorers, forerunners of the new civilization, exemplified in this case by Father Hennepin. The second act pictures the settlement of Excelsior in 1853 with the resulting withdrawal of the Indians farther into the wilderness. The third act shows the village in 1861, the inhabitants surprised in the midst of a picnic by the president's call for volunteers; a company of recruits forms and marches away. The final act represents Minnetonka at the present time—the playground of Minnesota, with tableaux and dances personifying different sports and recreations. Musical numbers and picturesque dances formed interludes between the acts, and the whole pageant, well-costumed and staged, was an attractive and interesting spectacle. Its educational value would have been enhanced, however, by a little more attention to the truth of history. The production abounded in anachronisms, historical personages appeared in curious places and connections, and events were portrayed which were not merely imaginary but historically impossible. Unfortunately the program contained no historical

or explanatory notes which might have aided the observer in distinguishing between fact and fiction. A twenty-eight-page pamphlet containing the book of the pageant was printed as "advance proof for use in production."

The fifty-ninth annual meeting of the Minnesota Old Settlers' Association, held at the Old Capitol, St. Paul, June 1, 1916, was attended by two of the four surviving members, John Daubney of Taylor's Falls and Auguste L. Larpenteur of St. Paul, also by one of the four honorary members, Warren Upham, and a number of invited guests and friends. At the formal business meeting Mr. Upham read a memorial sketch of John D. Scofield, whose death occurred September 18, 1915, and Mrs. Winifred Murray Milne gave an interesting series of biographic and other notes upon a number of St. Paul pioneers of 1856 and 1857. Mr. George H. Hazzard, secretary of the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers, presided as toastmaster at the banquet following the business meeting, and an entertaining program of responses, generally reminiscent in character, was given. It was decided that, owing to the advanced age of the surviving members of the association, only one more meeting would be held, on June 1, 1917, when the Territorial Pioneers of Minnesota will unite with the Old Settlers in the celebration of this anniversary day of the organization of the Minnesota territorial government.

The Old Settlers' Association of Kandiyohi County held its annual meeting at New London, June 21, 1916. The principal event of the morning was a parade made up of several sections, each representing some phase of history, development, or industry, the most noteworthy being the one showing the evolution in the means of transportation. The afternoon exercises were marked by an address by Senator P. A. Gandrud of Sunburg, in which the methods of legislation of the early days were compared with those of the present time, and by the reading of a paper entitled "Sixty Years Ago," prepared by Victor E. Lawson of Willmar, which contained valuable contributions to the early history of Kandiyohi County gathered by Mr. Lawson from various sources. Of particular value were the data which he obtained from Mr. Wilfrid Whitefield of Sauk Center, son of

Edward Whitefield, who, as artist and press agent, accompanied an exploration party to the Kandiyohi lakes in 1856, and whose pictures of early scenes in Minnesota are well known. Among his papers, which are now in the possession of the son, are letters written during 1856–57 from Minnesota, and a manuscript entitled "Kandiyohi, Fourth Article," describing in detail the discovery of the Kandiyohi lakes and the location of the townships of Whitefield, Kandiyohi, and Swainson. The June 29 issue of the *New London Times* contained an account of the meeting, and Mr. Lawson's paper was printed in full in the *Willmar Tribune* of July 5, 1916.

The annual meeting of the Territorial Pioneers' Association of Freeborn County was held in Albert Lea, May 11. Among the addresses given, that of Mrs. A. W. Massie on "Reminiscences of Pioneer Times" is deserving of mention. In 1859 Mrs. Massie, a girl of sixteen, accompanied her father's family in their journey overland in an emigrant wagon drawn by an ox team from Madison, Wisconsin to Carlston township, Freeborn County, where they settled on a squatters' claim. Her recollections of the difficulties attendant upon this primitive means of transportation, of economic and social conditions in the pioneer community, and of early schools and religious services were interestingly told. The address was printed in full in the May 15 issue of the *Albert Lea Standard.*

The annual meeting of the Old Settlers' Association of Renville County was held at Morton, June 14 and 15. Considerable interest had been aroused in this meeting because of the fact that Morton and its immediate vicinity are on historic ground, the battlefield of Birch Coolee lying to the northeast and the old stone house marking the site of the Lower Agency being directly across the Minnesota River. Stone monuments here and there commemorate incidents connected with the Indian outbreak of 1862. Trips to these points were planned for the visitors. At the exercises addresses were made by Governor Burnquist, Julius A. Schmahl, Frank B. Kellogg, and S. G. Iverson. A brief notice of the meeting appeared in the *Renville Star Farmer* of June 22, 1916.

On June 27, 1916, at Pipestone, occurred the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Pipestone County Old Settlers' Historical Society. The morning session was devoted to the president's address and to the presentation of reports from the secretary-treasurer, historian, and township vice-presidents; at the afternoon session an interesting program of addresses was given, including "The Boom Spirit of Pioneer Days," by Dr. W. J. Taylor; "Reminiscences of Medical Work in the Early Days of Pipestone County and Southwestern Minnesota," by Dr. H. D. Jenckes; and "Incidents in My Twenty Years' Experience as a School Teacher in Pipestone County," by John Pierce. A full account of the exercises is to be found in the *Pipestone County Star* of June 27 and 30, 1916.

The fortieth annual reunion of the Old Settlers' Association of Dodge County was held in Kasson, June 27, 1916. At the formal exercises addresses were made by C. A. Severance and Samuel Lord, former residents of the county, now of St. Paul, followed by the reading of a paper "Some Pioneer Anniversaries of Dodge County" written by H. A. Smith, a pioneer editor of the county, now a resident of the state of Washington. The paper was printed in the *Dodge County Republican,* June 29, 1916, and reprinted in the *People's Press* (Owatonna), July 7.

The Mapleton and Sterling Old Settlers' Association held its annual picnic at Mapleton, June 14, 1916, on the grounds where the Mapleton settlement of 1856 celebrated its first Fourth of July. Governor Burnquist was the principal speaker at the exercises following the picnic dinner, and William Mead of Sterling gave the memorial address for those members of the association who have died during the last year, which was printed in the June 16 issue of the *Blue Earth County Enterprise.*

The annual meeting of the Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association on June 3, 1916, was marked by exercises incident to the dedication of the memorial elm in Richard Chute Square, given to the pioneers by the Native Sons of Minnesota. A photograph taken of the members and their friends who were present at this meeting appeared in the June 25 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal.*

The January 9 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal* contained an account of a dinner given on January 8, 1916, at the Hotel Leamington in Minneapolis by Major George A. Brackett to fifteen pioneers of the village of St. Anthony. Judge J. B. Gilfillan presided as toastmaster, and each guest, as his name was called, responded by relating some incident of his early experiences. A reproduction of a photograph taken as the guests were seated accompanied the article.

Mr. L. E. Moyer of Montevideo and former Senator O. G. Dale of Madison are gathering material for a history of Chippewa and Lac qui Parle counties which B. F. Bowen and Company are to bring out. A history of Douglas and Grant counties, by the same firm, is also in course of preparation under the direction of Mr. Constant Larson of Alexandria.

Indian-White Amalgamation: an Anthropometric Study, by Professor Albert E. Jenks, is number 6 of the *Studies in the Social Sciences* of the University of Minnesota (1916. vi, 24 p.). The paper describes the methods used in an attempt at a scientific determination of "the blood status of certain persons whose ancestry is in question in the government suits" arising out of the sales of land in the White Earth Indian Reservation. Professor Jenks reached the conclusion that among the Ojibways of Minnesota "the pure-blood Indian type was noticeable chiefly by its absence." A brief statement of "the historical foundation for such a condition" is included in the paper.

The firm of Rand, McNally and Company of Chicago has recently issued a work without a title-page containing a "Landowners' Directory, Anoka, Dakota, Hennepin, Ramsey, Scott and Washington Counties, Minnesota, as Compiled from the County Assessors' Records." This consists of ninety-six pages of photographic reproductions of typewritten lists of property owners, section by section, with detailed maps of each county. The remainder of the book is made up of pages 51 to 154 of the publishers' "New Ideal Atlas." Accompanying the work is a large folding "Map of East Central Minnesota," printed on cloth and covering a rectangle stretching south from Duluth to Red Wing and west from Wisconsin to Little Falls. Unfortunately neither the map nor the book is dated.

The United States Geological Survey has issued the "Minneapolis-St. Paul Folio" of its *Geologic Atlas of the United States* (1916. 14 p.). This consists of a "Description of the Minneapolis and St. Paul District" by Frederick W. Sardeson, maps of the topography and areal geology of the Minneapolis, St. Paul, Anoka, and White Bear quadrangles, and twenty-two illustrations from photographs.

Minnesota Day, by W. F. Webster of Minneapolis, has been issued by the state department of education as number 60 of its *Bulletins* (1916. 24 p.). The book contains brief statements on the population, natural features, resources, and industries of Minnesota, and is offered to the teachers of the state as a guide to the sort of information to be presented at exercises incident to the observance of Minnesota Day.

The Third Infantry Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Association has issued the *Proceedings* of its thirty-first annual reunion, held at Minneapolis, September 8, 1915 (11 p.). A group picture taken of the members of the association present is an interesting feature of the pamphlet.

The Minnesotan for May contains a biographical sketch of Douglas Volk, director of the art school of the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts from its beginning in 1886 to 1893, by William Watts Folwell.

The Northwestern Miller has brought out the eighth annual issue, for 1916–17, of the *Miller's Almanack and Year-Book of the Trade; a Compilation of Statistical and General Information of the Milling Industry and the Grain Trade* (Minneapolis, 1916. 240 p.).

Vikværingen is the title of a new bi-monthly publication issued as the "official organ of *Kristianialaget,* an organization composed of Americans from Christiania and environs, Norway." The editor is G. N. Exstand, 3848 27th Avenue S., Minneapolis, and three numbers have appeared.

The First National Bank of Owatonna, Minnesota, has recently issued an attractive souvenir pamphlet entitled *Golden Anniversary* to mark the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment

on June 1, 1866 (30 p.). A brief account of the earliest settlements in Steele County and of the beginnings of Owatonna, and a sketch of Mr. W. R. Kinyon, one of the founders of the bank, are interesting features of the book.

In *Minnesota Lakes,* recently brought out by the Northern Pacific Railway Company (1916. 64 p.), are set forth for the benefit of the summer tourist the beauties and attractions of the many lakes situated in what is known as the Lake Park Region of central Minnesota, about the head waters of the Mississippi, and along the international boundary. Numerous illustrations reproduce for the reader scenes on some of the lakes described.

The June number of *Export American Industries* contains an article by E. C. Hillweg, assistant secretary of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, on "Minneapolis," the second in a series entitled "Industrial Centers of the United States." Some interesting facts in connection with the city's industrial development are brought out, especial attention being given to its growing importance as a factor in export trade. The article is illustrated with a number of photographs of the city's principal industrial plants and other points of interest, while a beautiful view of the Institute of Arts forms an attractive front cover.

"The Work of N. H. Winchell in Glacial Geology and Archæology" is the title of an article which appeared in the January issue of *Economic Geology,* by Warren Upham, archeologist of the Minnesota Historical Society (1916. pp. 63–72). A number of separates have been issued.

With its June 1 issue the *Minneapolis Tribune* began the daily publication of a series of sketches by Caryl B. Storrs entitled "Visitin' 'Round in Minnesota." Mr. Storrs's articles are not news articles. "He is just rambling around and writing his impressions and experiences." He takes part in the Memorial Day celebration at Winnebago, sees a real, old-time blacksmith forge at Blooming Prairie, attends an old settlers' meeting at Mapleton, is told "the true story of the death of Little Crow" at New Ulm, visits Jones' Ford on the Blue Earth, where he sees the site of Le Sueur's Fort L'Huillier, finds an old-fashioned Fourth of

July at Wabasha, visits an up-to-date farm at Granite Falls where farming is no longer "a job" but "a science" and is carried on by pressing a button or turning a switch, has interesting interviews with old pioneers from whom he learns many an old tale or legend or bit of valuable historical information—all of which, with many more experiences, he reproduces in sketches distinctly readable and entertaining. The value of the series as a whole will lie especially in the picture it affords of the life of the people of the state, in the towns and in the countryside, both in these present days and those more remote.

In *Wheelock's Weekly* (Fergus Falls), May 11–25, 1916, appeared a series of articles, by Major R. I. Holcombe of St. Paul, on the early explorations in Otter Tail County and the regions adjacent to it. Major Holcombe has given a detailed and interesting account of the expeditions of Joseph La France, David Thompson, the Henry's, Pike, Keating, and Beltrami, based on their own narratives, and has noted particularly the descriptions of the Otter Tail region as seen by the explorers or known to them only through hearsay. Lists of corrected Indian names with their English translations add to the value of the articles.

Mr. E. S. Lambert of Fergus Falls is the author of "Some Personal Reminiscences" which appeared in the *Fergus Falls Weekly Journal,* May 11 and 18, 1916. Though he was but a young lad when his family settled on a homestead near Hutchinson in 1859, Mr. Lambert's recollections of the hardships and the primitive methods of farming of his boyhood days are quite vivid. He describes also among other things the flight of his family to Mendota at the time of the Sioux outbreak of 1862, his life as a school boy at Mendota, Fort Snelling during the Civil War period, the building of the first railroad out of St. Paul to the East, and farming conditions in the state in the seventies.

The seventh and concluding number of the series of historical articles by Mr. Andrew C. Dunn of Winnebago, of which mention was made in the May number of the BULLETIN, appeared in the July 9 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal.* In this number Mr. Dunn tells of the difficulties encountered in Congress over the admission of Minnesota into the Union, and describes the stirring

events of the session of the first state legislature, the inner political significance of which he, as secretary of the senate, was in a position to know.

One of the episodes in the Mankato historical pageant described elsewhere in this BULLETIN contained a representation of the coming of the first Germans to the little settlement in 1854. In the July 4 issue of the *Mankato Review,* one of the surviving members of the party of five German families from St. Charles, Missouri, Mr. Phillip Hodapp, tells the story of their journey by boat from St. Louis to St. Paul, and thence overland by wagon to Mankato by way of Shakopee village, Le Sueur, the trading post of Traverse des Sioux, St. Peter, and Kasota.

The *Minneapolis Tribune* of May 14, 1916, contained extracts from an old diary kept by John G. Macfarlane, keeper of the first city wharf and owner of the first warehouse in Minneapolis. Some interesting facts are brought to light about the Minneapolis of sixty years ago, when the town was the head of navigation on the Mississippi River. Among the illustrations accompanying the article is one, taken in 1857, showing the steamer "Minneapolis" alongside the old wharf, situated just below the site of the present Washington Avenue bridge.

Under the heading "Pioneer Woman Compiles History of Minneapolis in Clippings of Sixty Years" in the *Minneapolis Journal* of May 21, 1916, is given an account of a scrapbook belonging to Mrs. Hannah Howard Munson, who came to St. Anthony on July 4, 1848, and whose interest in public men and affairs and in the development of the little settlement beside the Falls into the "big Minneapolis" of to-day, led her to keep this "illustrated diary of a half century of first and important events."

Some account of the fur-trading business and of the early travel routes of northern Minnesota was given in the *Duluth Herald,* July 12, 1916, by Joe Wakefield, in an article entitled "Aged Pioneer of Lake Region Recalls Scenes of Early Days." Wakefield came to Minnesota in the early fifties and made his way from St. Anthony up into the northern part of the territory, then practically unexplored, establishing himself as Indian trader near the site known later as Crow Wing.

The death of Colonel John S. Mosby, the noted Confederate cavalry leader, which occurred at Washington, May 30, 1916, brought back to many Civil War veterans memories of encounters with the troop of raiders commanded by this daring officer. Some of these reminiscences appeared in the *Minneapolis Tribune,* May 31, 1916.

"On the Minnesota River after Half a Century" is the title of an interesting sketch by Fred S. Bill in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, for July 15.

A number of brief articles containing material of interest and value for the early history of the state have appeared in recent issues of Minnesota newspapers. In the *Todd County Argus* (April 27, 1916), Dr. J. F. Locke, formerly of Long Prairie, now of Brookfield, Vermont, "Recalls the Pioneer Days" of the early seventies. An account of the settlement of the eastern part of Bigelow township in Nobles County in 1871 by a group of young men who had but recently come to the United States from Sweden is related by Hans Nystrom in "Tales of the Pioneer Days" in the *Worthington Globe* (May 25, 1916). The proceedings of the first district court of Martin County, which was held in a small log cabin at Fairmont in October, 1861, and the obstacles to be overcome by the jurymen and other members of the court in their efforts to reach the meeting place in the days when transportation facilities were of the crudest, are graphically described in "Courting under Difficulties in Early Days" by A. R. Fancher in the *Martin County Sentinel* (May 26, 1916); the same article was reprinted in the *Blue Earth Post* (May 30, 1916). Mr. M. J. Aldrich, a pioneer resident of Martin County, under the title "Pioneer Reminiscences" in the *Martin County Independent* (June 21, 1916), describes a remarkable group of mounds near Elm Creek, estimated to be from two to three thousand years old, which at one time were very definitely defined, but which, with the passage of time, have become almost obliterated. The *Pipestone Leader* (June 22, 1916) contained an interesting narrative by Mrs. J. M. Bull, wife of a pioneer teacher and minister of Pipestone County, now of Gentry, Arkansas, of the early history of the county, with some account of the first settlers.

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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

EDITED BY

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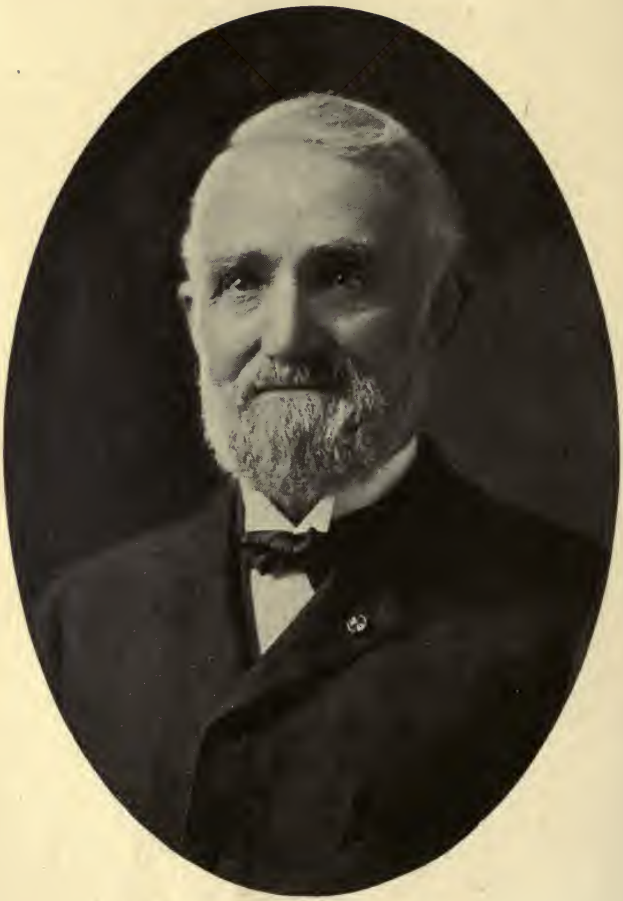

Theodore E. Potter

CAPTAIN POTTER'S RECOLLECTIONS OF MINNESOTA EXPERIENCES[1]

In 1852, when twenty years of age, with others I went by the overland route, with ox teams, to California to dig gold. While there, in connection with many other stirring incidents in the mines, I joined a militia company to fight the Indians

[1] The document here printed was written by Captain Potter in 1907, in response to a request from the secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society. While not always accurate in details, as is true of most narratives based largely on memory, it throws new light on some phases of the history of the state. Aside from the correction of a few obvious slips, no attempt has been made to revise the manuscript, but attention has been called in some instances to parallel accounts which would be useful in checking up the narrative. The notes have been prepared by Miss Franc M. Potter of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, with some assistance from Miss Dorothy Heinemann and Miss Marjorie Carr of the University of Minnesota.—*Ed.*

Very little has been learned of the life of Captain Theodore E. Potter in addition to what may be gained from the present narrative. His father, Linus Potter, a Pennsylvanian by birth, came to Michigan from Cayuga County, New York, in 1830, and settled in Saline, Washtenaw County. Here on March 10, 1832, his son Theodore E. was born. Financial reverses forced the father in 1844 to join a second time the ranks of pioneers, and with his family, consisting of his wife and seven children, he began life again on a 120-acre tract of timber land in Eaton County, Michigan, which afterwards became the site of the present town of Potterville. He died in 1846. Six years later, his son Theodore, a young man of twenty, joined a company bound for California, where he remained for several years; he was a member of General William Walker's filibustering expedition to Nicaragua and, on its unsuccessful termination, returned to his home in Michigan. A trip through the Minnesota and Blue Earth valleys in the early part of 1856 influenced him to make Minnesota his permanent home. Returning to the state in the following spring, he settled in Garden City, and at once took a leading position in the affairs of the village. On the organization of the town of Watonwan, May 11, 1858, he was elected collector; and in the town election of the following spring he was named chairman of supervisors, becoming *ex officio* a member of the board of county supervisors. Mr. Potter

that became very troublesome in Mariposa and Merced counties. This was the first chapter in my military experience.[1]

The second and briefer chapter followed not long after. With many others I was persuaded, under expectation of great gain, to join General Walker's Nicaraguan filibustering expedition, which soon ended in our breaking up and hurrying out of that country to escape capture. Then, upon my retreat in February, 1856, I returned to my home in Michigan, accompanied by three young men from Wisconsin who had shared many of these incidents with me.

But in the spring of 1856 we decided to go back to California by way of New Orleans and Panama. We went to New York, Washington, Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, Jacksonville, Mobile, and New Orleans, where we learned that the steamer for Panama had given up going to Panama on account of the prevalence of cholera and yellow fever at that place. We then decided to go back north, and took a Mississippi River boat for St. Paul, Minnesota, at the head of navigation, two thousand miles away by river, reaching there in fourteen days.

We were glad to get back on northern soil, as the slavery

played a not unimportant rôle in the Indian and Civil wars. He was a member of several volunteer companies of citizens organized for defence against the Indians, and was enrolled as first lieutenant of Company B, First Regiment Mounted Rangers, which took part in General Sibley's expedition of 1863. The following year he received a commission as captain and recruited a company for service in the Civil War, which was mustered in as Company C, Eleventh Regiment Infantry Minnesota Volunteers. On his return from the South in 1865 Captain Potter purchased a farm near Garden City, on which he lived until 1876, when he returned to Michigan. Thereafter for many years he was associated with two of his brothers in the hardwood lumber business in Potterville. About the year 1891, having secured an interest in the Potter Furniture Manufacturing Company of Lansing, he removed to that city, residing there until his death, which occurred in 1912. Samuel W. Durant, *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties, Michigan,* 421, 422 (Philadelphia, 1880); Thomas Hughes, *History of Blue Earth County, Minnesota,* 100, 248 (Chicago, 1909).

[1] In a letter accompanying this manuscript Captain Potter says that in 1854 he joined a company of the California state militia called the Sonora Grays and had ten days' actual service against the Indians.

question down south was then boiling hot, and every northern man was watched as an abolitionist with extreme jealousy and suspicion, and during our three weeks' stay in southern territory we witnessed many stirring examples of this suspicion and hatred, and learned best to keep quiet on that subject down there.

At St. Paul, then with a population of about three thousand,[1] we went to the fine Merchants' Hotel; visited St. Anthony's Falls; examined the work going on to harness that great water power for service;[2] visited the present Minneapolis, only a small city,[3] and returned to St. Paul by way of Fort Snelling.

The next day my three friends from Wisconsin concluded to go back down the river and make their way to California by some route during the summer. We parted at the wharf, bidding each other good-bye for the last time, and I have never heard a word from them since.

The same day I took a boat for Mankato, which was loaded down with passengers looking for desirable locations to settle on the lands recently purchased by the government from the Sioux Indians. I spent a week looking over the Blue Earth

[1] According to the census of Minnesota Territory, taken in 1855, the population of St. Paul was 4,716. *Weekly Minnesotian,* August 11, 1855. The census of 1857 increased this figure to 9,973. J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota,* 381 *(Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 4).

[2] For an account of the dam under construction during the summer of 1856 by the St. Anthony Falls Water Power Company and the Minneapolis Mill Company, see Isaac Atwater, *History of the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota,* 1: 33, 529, 534 (New York, 1893); W. H. Mitchell and J. H. Stevens, *Geographical and Statistical History of the County of Hennepin,* 116, 129 (Minneapolis, 1868); the beginning of the work is noted in the *St. Anthony Express,* July 5, 1856.

[3] The territorial census taken in the fall of 1857 gave Minneapolis a population of 4,123. *Weekly Minnesotian,* November 14, 1857. Compare, however, Atwater's statement that at the beginning of 1857 there were by actual count 198 buildings in Minneapolis, and "as many of these were stores and shops, it is evident . . . that there was shelter for less than 1,000," though he adds that 248 new buildings were erected during the year and that the population was rapidly growing. *History of the City of Minneapolis,* 1: 40.

and Minnesota river valleys south and west of Mankato; then took a boat at the German town of New Ulm and returned to Michigan, my native state, where my mother, brothers, and sisters all lived.

Early in the spring of 1857 I concluded to go to Minnesota and make a permanent home for myself there. As soon as I could get ready, I started for St. Paul by way of Galena, Dubuque, La Crosse, and Winona, and got the first boat that broke the ice through to St. Paul that spring,[1] and then took passage on another boat, the "Time and Tide" which "waits for no man," for the Sioux agency, five hundred miles by boat up the Minnesota River[2] beyond the historic Indian town of Mendota[3] on the left hand, and Fort Snelling on the right on

[1] Compare with Atwater's account of his journey from Central New York to Minneapolis this same spring, May 7–18, in his *History of the City of Minneapolis,* 1: 39.

[2] Interesting accounts of steamboating on the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers are: Russell Blakeley, "History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota" in *M. H. C.* 8: 376–418, and Thomas Hughes, "History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River" in *M. H. C.* 10: 131–163 (part 1). Mr. Hughes relates how the captain of the "Time and Tide," Louis Robert, was wont to call out, as the boat was about to leave its dock, "All aboard! 'Time and Tide' waits for no man" (p. 143).

[3] Mendota is not, historically speaking, an Indian village. Neither Pike, Long, Forsyth, nor Keating in the narratives of their exploratory expeditions on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers makes any mention of an Indian village at this point; nor does Edward D. Neill in his enumeration of the villages of the bands of the Mdewakanton Sioux in 1853, in *M. H. C.* 1: 263, nor Samuel W. Pond in his "The Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota as They Were in 1834" in *M. H. C.* 12: 320–330. The site was, however, selected by the early fur-traders as being a particularly suitable location for a trading post. Henry H. Sibley in his "Reminiscences: Historical and Personal" in *M. H. C.* 1: 468, gives an account of Jean Baptiste Faribault's post at that place; and about the year 1824 Alexis Bailly was established there as agent of the American Fur Company, being superseded in 1834 by Sibley. *M. H. C.* 3: 319 n. 1; *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 20: 197 n. 55. Sibley, in describing his arrival in Minnesota, says of Mendota, "There were a few log houses at St. Peters, occupied by persons employed in the fur trade." "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Minnesota" in *M. H. C.* 3: 245.

a high rocky bluff near the junction of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, for many years the headquarters of the United States forces in the Northwest.

Twenty-five miles above Fort Snelling the boat made its first landing at the stirring young town of Shakopee, named in honor of a celebrated Sioux chief, and five miles up the river was Shaska, an Indian village;[1] and then next Belle Plaine, a county seat of some importance,[2] where many left the boat looking for land, and many more came on board to go farther up the river to find better locations, as it was said that every piece of good land for two hundred miles above St. Paul on the river had been located and laid out into a village plot or townsite, and a hotel or store of some kind erected to start the place, with a saloon and blacksmith shop added where it was possible. All these enterprises had started within the few years since the land had been purchased from the Sioux Indians. The river formed the line between counties, and land speculators had located "county seats" on the river, accessible to land-seekers, to benefit them in the sale of lands on the reputation of the county-seat locations. Many of these county seats were afterwards changed by the people. We passed many new little towns made lively by the constant coming of new settlers from the eastern states and foreign countries.

At Le Sueur, one hundred miles above St. Paul, two hundred passengers left the boat and about one hundred came on board,

[1] Shaska was the original spelling of Chaska, at this time a small hamlet containing some ten voters. There is no record of its being the site of an Indian village (see page 422, note 3). It was selected as a favorable location for a trading post in August, 1851, by Thomas A. Holmes, who afterwards disposed of his rights to the Fuller Brothers of St. Paul, proprietors of the townsite in 1857. R. I. Holcombe and William H. Bingham, *Compendium of History and Biography of Carver and Hennepin Counties, Minnesota,* 210, 211 (Chicago, 1915).

[2] Shakopee, and not Belle Plaine, was the county seat of Scott County in 1857, having been so designated by action of the board of county commissioners February 6, 1854. *History of the Minnesota Valley,* 290 (Minneapolis, North Star Publishing Company, 1882).

giving us, with the heavy load of freight for the Indian agencies farther up, a very heavy load for the river navigation so high up, rendering it at times very difficult for the stern-wheeler to make much progress in the swift current. So when we came in sight of Traverse des Sioux, Colonel Flandrau, the Indian agent on board, told some of us that, as it was ten miles by the river to St. Peter and only one mile on foot by a good road, he usually walked across, and if the others would do so, it would lighten the boat and give them a pleasant walk. Nearly all of us walked. On the arrival of the boat a large crowd was present, and the captain announced that no additional passengers could be taken and that the boat would not leave until four o'clock the next morning.

Morton S. Wilkinson, a young lawyer I had known at home, and who was now a member of the Minnesota territorial legislature and also a member of the constitutional convention soon to be held at St. Paul, was a passenger on our boat on his way to the Indian agencies with Agent Flandrau, and invited me to go to a hotel and stay overnight with him. Colonel Flandrau was a young western man and had been with the Sioux Indians for several years. He was dressed in a buck-skin suit, with his long, straight, light-colored hair hanging down to his shoulders, and he had a kind and pleasant word for everyone, making him a favorite for all on board the boat. While we were at the hotel, he became interested in my California history and desired to hear all he could of it. Wilkinson went to Minnesota the same year I went to California, and told Flandrau the reason he did not go to California with me was because he could not raise money enough to buy an ox team to go with. Before and during our Civil War Wilkinson was United States senator from Minnesota and [was] considered one of the ablest and most loyal men in the Senate.[1]

[1] Captain Potter's account of Senator Wilkinson is not entirely free from errors. Mr. Wilkinson came to Stillwater, Minnesota, in 1847 from Eaton Rapids, Eaton County, Michigan, where he had been

After a good night's rest in a hotel bed we were early on the boat and on our way up the river again with one hundred less passengers than the day before. Our next stop was Mankato, thirty miles by river and ten by land and six hours making it, on the way meeting the steamer "Favorite" for St. Paul with several hundred passengers on board.[1] Mankato was then the largest town on the river. Our stop was only long enough to let off some passengers, but [we] took none on. New Ulm, a Cincinnati German town, seventy-five miles by river, was the next stop, where over one hundred Germans left the boat. We took on about fifty who were going to visit the Indian agencies. Three miles above New Ulm we came to the lands still owned by the Sioux Indians lying on both sides of the river and extending north and west to Big Stone Lake at the head of the river and Dakota line. Soon after dark we reached Fort Ridgely, where a large quantity of government supplies were unloaded. We did not leave until daylight, and at noon were at the Lower [or] Redwood Agency, located on a beautiful prairie skirted with timber and about two hundred

engaged in the practice of law since 1843. From 1850 to 1856 he resided in St. Paul, removing from that city in 1857 to Mankato. Wilkinson was elected to the first territorial legislature of 1849 from Washington County, and was state senator from Blue Earth County from 1874 to 1877; but he was not in the legislature of 1857, nor was he a member of either constitutional convention, though he was one of the commission appointed in 1851 to compile a revised code of laws for the territory. He served as United States senator from Minnesota, 1859–65, and represented the first district in the lower house, 1869–71. *Biographical Congressional Directory,* 1111 (Washington, 1913); *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* February 5, 1894; *St. Paul Globe,* February 5, 1894; Minnesota, *Revised Statutes,* 1851, p. vii; Minnesota, *Legislative Manual,* 1915, pp. 90, 91, 104, 116–118; Minnesota Constitutional Convention (Democratic), *Debates and Proceedings,* 676 (St. Paul, Goodrich, pr., 1857); Minnesota Constitutional Convention (Republican), *Debates and Proceedings,* 6, 619 (St. Paul, Moore, pr., 1858).

[1] This steamboat is not listed in the "Annual Review of Steamboat Statistics" published in the *Weekly Minnesotian,* November 28, 1857. According to Hughes the "Favorite" was entered as a new boat in the spring of 1859. "History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River" in *M. H. C.* 10: 146 (part 1).

feet above the river. Colonel Flandrau and Mr. Wilkinson invited all the passengers to visit the agency eighty rods from the river, and take a look at the inside as well as the outside arrangements of a United States government Indian agency during the unloading of its government supplies, taking the remainder of the day. Several thousand Indians were gathered there from different parts of their own lands waiting for the distribution of the government supplies brought for them. Many of the Indians were at the landing-place to cordially greet and welcome their agent, Colonel Flandrau, who invited Wilkinson and myself to a good supper and lodging at the agency that night.

The next day Wilkinson and myself took the boat for Yellow Medicine or Upper Indian Agency, one hundred miles by water, while Flandrau took his team of Indian ponies and drove forty miles across the country in time to meet us at the Upper Agency, which it took us two days to reach. The Upper Agency was two miles from our landing-place, and as it was late in the day and the boat was to lay there two nights before starting on the return trip, the passengers remained on board until the next morning, except Wilkinson, myself, and a few others, who walked up the narrow pleasant valley of Yellow Medicine River to the agency, located in a fine oak grove one hundred feet or more above the valley.

The agency buildings were of brick, handmade by the Indians. Here we were again met by Colonel Flandrau and also Major Galbraith, another agent, who was sent with two other men not yet arrived to investigate the conditions and needs of the Indians who had sold their lands to the government for a small sum and were to receive their pay in goods at high rates. While here I found a man from Michigan, with his family, who had the contract for erecting the buildings of the agency, and stayed with them for two days.

With three other men I then took passage on board an Indian pony to go across the country back to the Lower Agency, accompanied by an Indian guide who was to take back our four

ponies. We were all day riding the forty miles over a beautiful prairie country dotted with growths of fine timber bordering all the streams and lakes, and passing a number of small brick houses built by the government for Indian families who chose to adopt more civilized modes of life and follow the business of farming, to whom were allotted eighty acres of land, a brick house sixteen by twenty-four feet, one and one-half stories high, agricultural implements, and a white man as instructor and overseer to assist them in learning their new mode of subsistence. So, on this ride from one agency to another, we would frequently see Indians, dressed like white men, at work in the fields, plowing with a yoke of oxen driven by a squaw or young Indian; others at making bricks; and we passed two well-built churches, all the result of a few years' change in the lives of these once wild savages.

Reaching Redwood Agency, I obtained lodgings with one of the boss Indian farmers, living in good style in a nice new brick house. The next day was semiannual payment Indian day, the payments to be made partly in gold and the balance in provisions, blankets, and other goods needed for their comfort and subsistence. A company of troops had been sent out from Fort Ridgely to keep order if necessary during the payment, as Sioux with their families from as far north as the Canadian border and for two hundred miles west came to receive their government pay at these two agencies. Children [and those] aged and feeble and unable to walk came on conveyances made of two long poles fastened at one end to each side of a pony, the other dragging on the ground and covered with skins, several hundreds of which, drawn for hundreds of miles, were in sight the first day. The system of payment was by number, each family having a registered number by which they were known, and when that number was called, the head of the family carrying it presented it himself for his allowance for the next six months, less the amount he had traded out in advance with the traders licensed by the government to sell to the Indians. Often at pay day the Indian found but very little

coming to him, leaving him very poor for the next six months, while the trader found himself rich from the great profits made on his goods, the Indians having no real estimate of the value of money or worth of the goods he wanted to buy. Such ignorance on his part and extravagant prices on the part of the trader have often caused a great deal of dissatisfaction and trouble, and probably violence and war. This Indian pay day was the only one I ever saw, and was very interesting as a lesson in future intercourse and knowledge of Indian habits and life.

The following day four of us hired a man and double team to take us twelve miles across to Fort Ridgely on the opposite side of the river, which we crossed by ferry near the agency, and were soon riding over a beautiful unpopulated prairie on the north side of the river, reaching Fort Ridgely at ten o'clock in the forenoon, where we found five companies of United States troops and two batteries of light artillery. We stayed four hours, visiting the fort and taking dinner with the soldiers, for which we paid as at a hotel.

Fort Ridgely is on a government reservation of several sections of land selected at the time the treaty was made with the Indians and placed on the reservation. But a celebrated war chief, named Ink-pa-du-ta, and his band never consented to the sale of the Sioux lands, declared themselves independent, would have nothing to do with the white man only to get his scalp, took the warpath, and early in March, 1857, made an attack on the scattered settlers around Spirit Lake near the northern line of Iowa, one hundred miles southwest of Fort Ridgely, killing all the settlers near the lake and several families on the Des Moines River in Minnesota, except four women who were taken prisoners and held for a ransom.[1] The names

[1] Other accounts of the Inkpaduta massacre and of the measures taken to rescue the four woman captives differ in detail from that of the present writer. Miss Gardner's story of her experiences is given in L. P. Lee, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre, 8th March, 1857, and of Miss Abigail Gardiner's Three Months' Captivity among the Indians* (New Britain, Connecticut, 1857. 47 p.). Jareb Palmer, a member of

of the women were Mrs. Noble, Mrs. Thatcher, Mrs. Marble, and Miss Gardner. Mrs. Noble, being sick and easily wearied and a burden to them, was shortly killed by the Indians. For some cause they killed Mrs. Thatcher also. Mrs. Marble was bought from them by two friendly Indians, sent out for the purpose by two missionaries, Riggs and Williamson, who paid to ransom her all the horses and guns they had; and the governor of the territory, Medary, paid the two friendly Indians twelve hundred dollars for their services and safe delivery of Mrs. Marble at Yellow Medicine Agency. It was learned that Miss Gardner had been sold to a Yankton Indian warrior, and in consideration of the twelve hundred dollars paid for the delivery of Mrs. Marble, many friendly Indians offered their services to undertake the rescue and return of Miss Gardner. Three Indians, prominent members of the Indian church, were selected for the work, one by the name of Other Day, who proved of great friendship and service to the whites at the time of the Sioux massacre in 1862 and was rewarded for it by the government. Horses, blankets, squaw cloth, ammunition, and many other articles which would please the Indians, valued at hundreds of dollars, were furnished this party of friendly Indians by the governor and Agent Flandrau,

the Springfield settlement on the Des Moines River in 1857, describes the massacres in detail in an article entitled "Early Days and Indians" in the *Plat Book of Jackson County, Minnesota,* 10–12 (Philadelphia, Inter State Publishing Company, 1887). See also Charles E. Flandrau, "Official Account of the Late Indian Difficulties," dated Sioux Agency, April 11, 1857, in United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1857, pp. 69–71, and "The Ink-pa-du-ta Massacre of 1857" in *M. H. C.* 3: 386–407; *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* April 17–19, 21, 23, 24, June 5, 23, 24, 1857; Thomas Hughes, "Causes and Results of the Inkpaduta Massacre" in *M. H. C.* 12: 263–282; Asa W. Daniels, "Reminiscences of Little Crow" in *M. H. C.* 12: 518–520; Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I; Forty Years with the Sioux,* 138–144 (Chicago, c. 1880). Henry H. Sibley, "Sketch of John Other Day" in *M. H. C.* 3: 99–102, and "Narrative of Paul Mazakootemane," translated by Rev. S. R. Riggs, in *M. H. C.* 3: 83, contain interesting accounts of the part played by these two Indians in the rescue of Miss Gardner.

with which to ransom the captive, and in less than thirty days Miss Gardner was secured and brought safely into St. Paul. Ink-pa-du-ta's son was killed, but, as far as known, the old chief and his band of outlaws all died natural deaths, honored by his people as the best haters of the whites in all the Sioux nation.[1]

While I was on this trip little was generally known of the massacre at Spirit Lake and still less of the captive women to produce public excitement or a demand for complete revenge. The news came just as we were about to leave for New Ulm, brought by a livery man who had just come in and who took us to New Ulm.

The ride was a lovely one through a new country, the most beautiful we had seen, reaching our destination just as the sun was casting its setting rays through the trees that were putting on their spring foliage. We put up at a German hotel with good accommodations. There was but one native American in this town of fifteen hundred people, and he was a very patriotic soldier of the Mexican War, owning the largest store in the place and kept in the only brick building yet erected, on which was a flag staff, from the top of which the stars and stripes floated every day, raised at the time the store was opened in the morning and lowered when it closed at night. He kept both German and Indian clerks to accommodate all classes and languages of customers in buying goods. There were two beer gardens in the town, one of them having an opera house connected with it, which we attended at night and witnessed a German play. The population of this place all

[1] The writer has apparently overlooked the punitive expedition sent out under the direction of W. J. Cullen, of the northern superintendency, consisting of about 125 Indians of the Upper and Lower Sioux under the command of Little Crow, which resulted in the killing of three members of the band, including another of Inkpaduta's sons, for an account of which see Cullen to John W. Denver, commissioner of Indian affairs, Lower Sioux Agency, July 26, 1857; K. Pritchette, special agent, to Denver, Sioux Agency, August 5, 1857; and the report of A. J. Campbell, United States interpreter with the expedition, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1857, pp. 78–84, 86, 87–89.

came from Cincinnati, two years previous, and with them more than five thousand others who settled on farms around New Ulm the first year the reservation was opened for settlement.[1] The Ink-pa-du-ta massacre at Spirit Lake alarmed these border settlers very much, and some of them had left their homes and taken their families into New Ulm for safety. Many of the leading men in town advised building a fort for their protection in case they were attacked by the Indians. A militia company was organized the night we were there, and a delegation took the first boat for St. Paul for the purpose of getting arms and ammunition for the new company. Settlers out on the Big Cottonwood River towards Spirit Lake, twenty miles from New Ulm, were daily coming in in large numbers to find refuge, adding greatly to the excitement and fears of another attack and possible repetition of the massacre of only six weeks previous. As a consequence we got little sleep that night, and next morning secured conveyance in a lumber wagon to Garden City, twenty-five miles southeast of New Ulm in Blue Earth Valley, where the men with me had friends and relatives living.

We passed through a fine prairie country, crossing the Big and Little Cottonwood rivers, passing several small lakes bordered with timber on the east side, where we invariably found a settler living in a log house, whose first inquiry was as to what we knew about the Spirit Lake massacre, and every one of them had gotten ready to move their families to some place of safety at a moment's notice.

[1] An account of the settlement of New Ulm through the efforts of two colonization societies, the Chicago Land Verein and the Colonization Society of North America of Cincinnati, is given in L. A. Fritsche, *History of Brown County, Minnesota,* 1: 124–138 (Indianapolis, 1916); Alexander Berghold, *The Indians' Revenge; or, Days of Horror,* 8–39 (San Francisco, 1891). The writer's estimate of the population of New Ulm and the adjacent country is somewhat too large; the census of 1860 gives Brown County a population of 2,339, and New Ulm, 635. *United States Census,* 1860, *Population,* 254, 255. Dr. Fritsche, however, consulting the files of the *New Ulm Pioneer* for 1858, gives the number of people in New Ulm in that year as 1,034, with 440 voters, the voters of the county being reported as 655. *History of Brown County,* 1: 467.

We reached Garden City a little after noon and found the people at work building a log fort around a large, long boarding house owned by a company which was building a large grist and saw mill on the river, employing a large number of men. My traveling companions found their relatives all at work on the fort, as many families had left their farms and homes and come into town for mutual protection and safety. The most of these people had come from Boston, Massachusetts, and knew very little of wild western life or how to handle an ax, the principal tool to use in building a log fort. After dinner I saw the situation, got a good ax, and went to work with them on the fort, and before night had gained such a reputation for that kind of business that at evening I was chosen as one of the bosses on the job. In two days we had a half acre surrounded by defences of logs ten feet high. After it was finished and a number of families had tents inside, all the women and children felt much more secure.

Reports kept coming in that the situation looked worse every hour. Some families had already started to leave the territory until the Indian question was settled. I told them that New Ulm people had organized a militia company and sent a committee to the governor for arms and ammunition. The next day reliable news came direct from Fort Ridgely and the Indian agencies that Ink-pa-du-ta and his warriors had gone westward into Dakota. The man bringing this news had been sent out from Fort Ridgely and had letters with him from Agent Flandrau, Riggs and Williamson, the two missionaries, and also from the commander of the fort, advising all the settlers to return to their homes, as all danger had passed. During that week most of the settlers returned home and went to work again on their farms.[1]

[1] The feeling of general alarm throughout the Minnesota Valley and the organization of volunteer militia companies as a means of protection are reported in a letter from Flandrau to Francis Huebschmann, superintendent of Indian affairs, Fort Ridgely, April 16, 1857, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1857, p. 72.

I was given a good job on one of the mills which was being built, and had worked on it for two weeks when a Norwegian settler, living on the south branch of the Watonwan River twenty miles southwest of us, came riding into the village with the information that the Indians were burning and robbing the homes of the settlers on that river, and the families were either fleeing from that country or collecting together and preparing to defend themselves. In less than two hours families which had left the fort two weeks before were returning to it again, and that night it sheltered more people than before; and every report which came in was that the Indians were advancing down the river plundering the vacant homes or stealing all the stock which settlers had failed to drive off with them. No one had been reported killed, but every settler was on the run to save himself and family. Two days previous to this raid word had been received that Colonel Alexander's regiment had left Fort Ridgely by boat and gone to Fort Leavenworth to join the Mormon expedition, leaving no troops on the frontier for the protection of settlers except a sergeant and a few men to protect the fort. On account of the removal of the troops the settlers lost courage and felt that there was no hope or safety for them, and that they would be compelled to entirely abandon the country. Nothing gives a settler along a border of an Indian country greater confidence than knowing he is protected by his government through the presence of United States troops in adequate forces, the only thing that outlawed savages fear to keep them from plundering and killing the scattered settlers in detail. The next best possible thing for them to do is to congregate and build a fort, or organize themselves into military companies.

That evening in our log fort sixty men volunteered to sign the roll and form a territorial militia company, and they elected me captain and a young man by the name of Pease lieutenant. Pease was a picturesque character among us. He never wore anything but a buckskin suit or one made of some kind of fur. At the same time one hundred dollars was raised among us

and turned over to me with instructions for Lieutenant Pease and myself to go at once to St. Paul and get arms and ammunition for the company and return as soon as possible. A team took us twelve miles to Mankato that night and in the morning we took a steamer which landed us at St. Paul the next morning in time for us to visit Governor Medary at his house before he was out of bed. He invited us to breakfast with him and at once ordered a team to be in readiness to take us to Fort Snelling. We first drove to the residence of United States Senator H. M. Rice, and the four of us were in Fort Snelling at nine a.m. We got sixty Springfield rifles, cartridge boxes, and plenty of ammunition, [and] at noon were at the boat landing ready to take the first up-river boat. After dinner at the fort Senator Rice gave me his personal check for two hundred dollars, with instructions to use it the best way to make our new territorial militia company comfortable. At two p.m. we and our Indian war equipment were on board the steamer "Favorite," the best and fastest boat on the river, and the next day at ten a.m. we were at Mankato and met teams and wagons from Garden City, which took us to Garden City fort in time to have the Garden City Sharpshooters, as they named themselves, drilling that afternoon. The experience and knowledge I had gained with the Sonora Grays in California less than two years before became of value to me then. The boys all thought from the way I formed them into platoons and back into line and other primary tactics, I must have been in the regular service.

For two weeks we kept up this drill daily and stayed close to our guns waiting for orders. Letters from the governor and Indian agents informed the settlers that no one had been killed during the last raid of the Indians; only one house burned, some cattle and horses stolen, several abandoned houses entered and goods carried off; that less than forty Indians had engaged in it, only for the purpose of theft and to frighten the settlers and make them leave the country; also, that two companies of regular infantry had been ordered to

Fort Ridgely to protect the settlers from further depredations. Ink-pa-du-ta and his followers had nothing to do with this raid. The citizens of Garden City and vicinity took a lively interest in this home company and raised four hundred dollars to build an armory on the public square in the center of the village to be used for a drill room and public meetings. This company was kept up until the Civil War broke out, and gave the settlers around there much confidence of security during the years previous to that war from 1857 to 1861.[1] Then the government ordered all our guns and military outfit sent back to Fort Snelling to use in arming the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, said to be the first volunteer regiment offered to the government in the War of the Rebellion. It also had the credit of losing the largest percentage of men during the four years' struggle for national life and liberty of any regiment. And I am informed by members of that regiment that the very guns the Minnesota militia had used were used in the first Bull Run battle by the First Minnesota Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.

During the year 1857 the great financial crisis of that period came over the country, making it very hard for all the newly settled parts. Minnesota had experienced a great boom common to new places and countries. New villages and cities had sprung up like mushrooms in nearly every county in the eastern half of the territory, in most cases built on borrowed capital at a rate of interest from one to three per cent per month, so that much of these new improvements by financial embarrassment became a dead loss to both borrower and lender. What little money I carried into the territory soon disappeared from my sight, so that in 1858 I easily figured that my six years of hard labor in the West had been a financial failure. I then decided not to try it any longer single-handed, and at once returned to Michigan and married Miss Diantha O.

[1] The reorganization of the Garden City Sharpshooters in 1859, under the captaincy of Mr. Potter, is noted in Hughes, *History of Blue Earth County*, 99.

DeGraff, to whom I had been engaged but a short time; and in November, 1858, returned with my wife to Garden City and commenced housekeeping in part of the log fort I had helped to build the previous year. My wife, being an experienced school-teacher, started a private school in our room, and [this], though small, gave pleasant occupation for her during her first cold winter in a new northwest country. It also had the historical reputation of being the first private school ever opened in that part of the country. In the meantime I ran the only grist mill in operation that winter. But about the first of January, 1859, it became so cold that the river froze nearly solid and the water wheels in the mill became a mass of solid ice and could not be started again until the following March, so that most of the people had to grind their corn and wheat for food in their hand coffee mills or pound it in a mortar for the next two months. As I lived in part of the house owned by the miller and worked for him, we managed to save out enough flour, meal, and buckwheat to last until the mill could be run again.

During 1859 and 1860 the country filled up rapidly with new settlers. The government kept a good force of troops along the borders of the settlements to keep the hostile Indians quiet and on their reservations. But in 1861, soon after the Civil War began, the Sioux Indians became bold and defiant, leaving their reservations without permission, and scattered settlers on the frontier were losing horses and cattle, and in two instances white children were missing, all charged to the renegade tribe of Sioux Indians.

In the spring and summer of 1862 Minnesota was called upon to furnish seven regiments of volunteers for the war. Two companies were enlisted from the Sioux reservations in the state. The Indian agents were nearly all openly opposed to the war and threw their hats in joy at any reverse to our arms. And the Indians soon learned that the North was divided, causing the hostile Indians to become more bold, running through the border settlements and causing an unusual

feeling of uneasiness and alarm, from which many families fled from their homes to larger and older settlements for safety. An instance in my own family will illustrate one phase of Indian conduct to annoy and threaten us. One day, when my wife was alone with my little two-year-old daughter, two powerful six-foot Sioux came into the house without warning. One of them picked up the child as if to carry her off, while the other offered its mother a large new brass kettle for the child. She calmly and decidedly as possible rejected their offer and they left. After awhile they came again and brought two more Indians with them and the same brass kettle and a hogshead they had stolen in it, set it down heavily on the floor, and again offered it and the hogshead for the child, and, being again refused, went away apparently deeply disgusted, if not displeased, that their offer was not promptly accepted. The same day my wife was telling the incident to one of our neighbors, who warned her that unless she kept very close watch of the child they certainly would come in their sly way and steal her. They were thirty miles away from their reservation.

Six months later these same Indians were massacring hundreds of settlers all the way from the Canada line south to the border of Iowa. In 1863, after the Sioux had been driven from Minnesota, it was learned that these bands of Indians had been sent out by Little Crow (the most warlike chief of the Sioux) for the purpose of locating all the settlements and spying out their situation and strength and learning where to strike most safely and successfully when they commenced war on the whites the following August.[1] And they planned to involve

[1] Charles S. Bryant, a lawyer of St. Peter, who prosecuted over one hundred claims for damages before the United States commissioners appointed to award relief to persons for losses sustained during the Sioux outbreak, in his *History of the Great Massacre by the Sioux Indians in Minnesota* (St. Peter, Minnesota, 1872, c. 1863), likewise expresses his belief that the massacres of 1862 were the result of "a deep-laid conspiracy, long cherished by Little Crow, taking form under the guise of the 'Soldiers' Lodge,' and matured in secret Indian councils. In all these secret movements Little Crow was the moving spirit. He was the counselor, orator, and acknowledged chief." Mr.

and associate the Winnebago tribe of Indians with them in the war on the whites and thus obtain over five hundred Winnebago warriors to assist them in the slaughter of the Minnesota settlements.

Before the Indians commenced their planned depredations, my wife and two small children left for Michigan, and I did not see them again until after all the hostile Indians had been driven westward out of Minnesota.

The hostile feeling towards the settlers on the part of the Indians located a few miles west of us and on the Winnebago reservation bordering Garden City two miles east of it, with several hundred warriors ready to join with the Sioux as soon as the first gun was fired, taken together with the recruiting by the government of the best and most available of our young [men] for service in the War of the Rebellion and rushing them south as fast as they were formed into regiments, all contributed to make the situation very unsafe for the people of the border settlements. The United States troops had all been ordered south from Forts Ridgely, Ripley, and Abercrombie, leaving only a sergeant with a few men to hold each

Bryant presents some interesting facts and testimony in support of his assertions (pp. 54–60). See also Moses N. Adams, "The Sioux Outbreak in the Year 1862, with Notes of Missionary Work among the Sioux" in *M. H. C.* 9: 434; and depositions of Thomas J. Galbraith and Stephen R. Riggs before the United States Sioux commissioners in 1863, in *Claims for Depredations by Sioux Indians,* 6–8, 10–12 (38 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* vol. 9, no. 58—serial 1189). Dr. Asa W. Daniels, however, in his "Reminiscences of Little Crow" in *M. H. C.* 12: 524–527, credits Little Crow with being opposed to the uprising and quotes at length from Samuel J. Brown (a son of the well-known fur-trader and pioneer, Joseph R. Brown), who was a prisoner among the Indians from the beginning of the massacre. The Indians' version of the events leading up to the war may be ascertained from "A Sioux Story of the War," as related by Chief Big Eagle to Major R. I. Holcombe in June, 1894, in *M. H. C.* 6: 382–400; and from Edward A. Bromley's article "The Story of the Sioux Outbreak, Told by Warriors Who Participated" in the *Minneapolis Times,* August 15, 1897, in which Good Thunder, Chanta-Wanica, and Big Thunder, a brother of Little Crow, agree in asserting that Little Crow was not responsible for the outbreak.

fort and protect its property. Every night for weeks the hostile Indians held councils for consultation and arrangements on their reservations before and up to the time Little Crow took the warpath.

On the morning of the twentieth of August, 1862, two German citizens from New Ulm came riding into Garden City with the alarm that the Sioux were massacring the settlers near Redwood Agency and Fort Ridgely and were within a short distance of New Ulm; that messengers had been sent to all the towns in the Minnesota River Valley east of New Ulm and up the Blue Earth Valley, warning them and appealing to them to hasten to the relief of New Ulm, as that was the largest and most important town in the Indian country west of Mankato. Within four hours from the time we received this news we had sixty men enlisted and mounted on farm horses, armed with all kinds of guns that could be had and I elected captain. In the meantime, during the excitement of preparation, the ladies of the village prepared a good dinner for us and plenty of rations to take with us, and about noon we formed into line with sixty as brave and determined men as could be found and started for New Ulm, twenty-five miles northwest of Garden City, the men and women clapping their hands and waving their handkerchiefs and cheering us bravely on even in their sadness at parting as we rode away. All the men of the place wanted to go with us, but there were not enough horses for all, so they had to content themselves by warning us not to lose our scalps on this first expedition.[1]

We followed the Mankato road three miles, where we struck a fresh Indian trail leading from the Winnebago agency

[1] A consideration of the progress of events as described in pages 439–445 makes it clear that the writer is in error here, and that the Garden City men reached New Ulm on the evening of Tuesday the nineteenth. Hughes also in his *History of Blue Earth County*, 114, tells of the dispatching of a squad of men under the leadership of Captain Potter on Tuesday to the assistance of New Ulm. G. K. Cleveland, however, in a letter dated Mankato, August 23, 1862, in the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, August 26, 1862, says that before

towards the Sioux agency, and were convinced that it was a party of Winnebagoes on their way the night before to join the Sioux. We followed this trail a short distance, then obliqued to the right to strike the Mankato and New Ulm wagon road, which ran on the south side of the Minnesota River, and reached it at the crossing of Butternut Creek, about ten miles from New Ulm. Here we found the first timber

reaching New Ulm on Wednesday night he "overtook quite a company of cavalry from Garden City, in company with Captains French and Potter."

Captain Potter's story of the occurrences at New Ulm, August 19–25, differs in many particulars from the accounts of others who were more or less concerned in them. Among these may be noted: Flandrau to Ramsey, New Ulm, August 20, 1862; to Sibley, New Ulm, August 22, 1862; to Ramsey, St. Peter, August 27, 1862, in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861–1865,* 2: 165, 197, 202 (St. Paul, 1899); Flandrau, "The Indian War of 1862–1864 and Following Campaigns in Minnesota" in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars,* 1: 731–733; "Judge Flandrau in the Defense of New Ulm during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862" in *M. H. C.* 10: 783–818 (part 2), by Major Salmon A. Buell, a member of the advance guard sent out by Flandrau from St. Peter on the nineteenth, and appointed by Flandrau as provost marshal and chief of staff on the twentieth; *Der Ausbruch der Sioux-Indianer in Minnesota im August 1862* (New Ulm, 1887), by Jacob Nix, who was captain of a volunteer company organized at New Ulm on the eighteenth and who was in command of the defenders during the battle on the nineteenth; "Reminiscences of the Little Crow Uprising" in *M. H. C.* 15: 323–336, by Dr. Asa W. Daniels, who accompanied Flandrau's command as surgeon; address delivered at the dedication of the monument erected by the state of Minnesota to the defenders of New Ulm, by Major E. C. Sanders, commander of the Le Sueur Tigers, in the *St. Paul Daily Globe,* August 23, 1891; *Mankato Semi-weekly Record,* August 23, 30, September 6, 1862; "The Sioux War" in the annual report of Adjutant General Malmros, in Minnesota, *Executive Documents,* 1862, pp. 421–429; Thomas J. Galbraith, agent for the Sioux of the Mississippi, to Clark W. Thompson, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Paul, January 27, 1863, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1863, pp. 266–298; "History of the Indian War," a report by Lieutenant Governor Donnelly to Ramsey, dated Fort Ridgely, August 29, 1862, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1862, pp. 59–68; *The Indians' Revenge; or, Days of Horror; Some Appalling Events in the History of the Sioux,* 106–123, 130–141, by Alexander Berghold, who came to New Ulm in 1868 and organized the first Catholic church in Brown County.

since leaving Garden City. Near Butternut Creek we met four families with teams and stock, fleeing for safety under great excitement, and they told us we would get killed if we did not go back, as the Indians in large numbers were massacring all they could find, and [they] begged us to return and escort them to Mankato. They, however, had not seen an Indian themselves for a week, but it had the effect of alarming some of our boys for the safety of their families they had left at Garden City, who wanted to return and protect them. So four of our men decided to return home, but agreed to go with these four families and protect them six miles on their way, where they would leave the main road for Garden City. This left us with fifty-six men.

After crossing the creek we came to the large log house of the oldest settler in the country by the name of Shaw, known to all people of that country. He was then over seventy years of age and for ten years his house had been a stopping-place for all who had traveled that road. We found him and three of his neighbors preparing his house for a siege against the Indians. Yet he thought the Indians would not harm him and his wife, as they knew many of the Indian leaders well, had treated them kindly, and were the oldest people living west of St. Paul in the Minnesota Valley. Just then a party of four land lookers with a double team drove up from Madelia, thirty miles southwest, to stop overnight with "Uncle Shaw." They had met and talked with the party of Winnebagoes, numbering about one hundred, most of them on ponies, young men and well armed, decorated for war, who said they were going to visit the Sioux. These land lookers had heard nothing of the Indian outbreak until we told them. They were young men from Wisconsin and [were] well armed with guns and revolvers. We invited them to go with us and they decided to do so, making our number good.

From Butternut Creek we had five miles of open prairie before reaching Little Cottonwood River and no settlers on the road; then three miles to Big Cottonwood River, making

fast time, as it was getting late in the day, and we were anxious to reach New Ulm before dark. While making these three miles, we saw to our left, about two miles off, a party moving towards New Ulm. Our Wisconsin friends took a look at them through their field glasses and said they were white people with ox teams. When we reached the high bluff of the Big Cottonwood, we could look over the intervening timber and see the young German city of New Ulm nearly three miles away. Suddenly we were startled to see several buildings in the west part of the city on fire. It was a beautiful clear sky, and the sun was just disappearing from sight in the west. We at once concluded that the Indians were burning the town. We had a half mile of timber and willow brush to go through in reaching the open ground on the opposite side of the river, and many of our men thought it would be used as an ambush by the Indians and be sure death to us to try to go through while they were there burning the place. But I told them we had already passed two places fully as bad for ambush as this, and to go back we would have to pass them again, and it would be safer for us to go on to New Ulm from the east side while they were burning the west part than to go back, if the Indians knew we were making for home over the same road we came. I said the situation was a critical one and there was no time to lose, and what we did must be done at once; that they had elected me their commander less than eight hours before to lead them to New Ulm, and now we were in plain sight of where we knew they badly needed our help, and were we going to leave them to their fate? and [I] said, "I say to you as your commander that it will be a disgrace to us." Most of them gave me a cheer, and said, "Go ahead and we will follow you." I ordered them to follow in single file and put their horses on the run until we struck the prairie on the other side of the river; and, in less time than it takes to write this story, we were on the west bank of the river, formed into four ranks, and our horses on the gallop into the eastern part of the city, while the Indians were scalping men, women, and children in

the western part of it. The city had a population of about fifteen hundred.

As we reached the road running down the Minnesota River Valley on the north side, we met two companies of militia, one from St. Peter under command of Captain Dodd, the other from Le Sueur, commanded by Captain Sanders, one of the leading ministers of the Minnesota Valley, both companies mounted and together making about one hundred men. Then, as we looked back over the road we had just come, we saw another company coming at full speed from Mankato under Captain Bierbauer, of about fifty men, giving us in all full two hundred men. Captain Sanders taking the lead, we at once swept through the main business street of the city, four abreast, as fast [as] our horses could carry us, and we were within half a mile of the Indians before they knew of our presence, taking them by surprise and causing every one of them instantly to drop his torch and scalping knife and to mount his pony in the utmost haste and scatter, each one for himself, in the direction of his reservation. There were about one hundred of them. They had burned two of the breweries and twenty-one residences, and, had not these military companies come just in time to prevent it, they no doubt would have burned the entire town and massacred the people that night, as they were having their own way and [there was] no armed force to check them.

As we could not follow the Indians after they scattered and [as] it was getting dark, we returned to the city and took care of our horses as well as we could. Coffee was furnished us by the ladies, and with the rations brought from home we had a good campaign supper the first night out.

Colonel Charles E. Flandrau, a former Indian agent, had arrived from St. Peter during the afternoon and been placed in command of the city. He had ordered it placed under martial law, placed guards on all roads leading out of the city with orders to allow every person to come in, but no one to pass out unless by a permit from him.

Nineteen dead bodies were brought in that evening, killed inside the city limits, all scalped and mutilated in other ways, mostly women and children. The bodies were laid in a row on the floor of a blacksmith shop, where every person could take a view of them, making a scene such as none of us had ever witnessed before. And it made most of them who had left their families that day to rescue this city feel anxious to return to the protection of their own homes at once. In eight hours after leaving home, twenty-five miles away, they had met the Indians and driven them away, saw the destruction of property by fire, and looked upon a score of women and children who had been tomahawked and scalped by these savages, Many of my men asked for a pass that night to go home, but Colonel Flandrau refused them and said that if we all stayed and whipped the Indians there, they would not penetrate the more settled country east of us; but if we abandoned New Ulm we might lose the entire state. However, the most of my men were determined to go home. Four of them left their horses that night, escaped through the guard on foot, and started for home. Two of them got lost and went in the wrong direction and nearly lost their lives before reaching home. The next morning all but fifteen signed a petition asking for a pass to return home that they might protect their own families, and the other companies did the same. Colonel Flandrau called all the captains together for consultation. They all agreed to stand by him, but we admitted that if these men were determined to leave, they would be of little use in an emergency. My men had said to me that morning, "If our families were east like yours, we would gladly stay and fight it out here; but place yourself in our positions and then answer the question as to what you would do if your own family was within twenty-five miles of you and exposed to slaughter." I admitted that my first duty would be to protect them.

The meeting of the officers resulted in a decision to give passes to men who had families to return home at once. Some

of the men who had good rifles, upon leaving, exchanged them with those who had only shot guns, which were of little use in Indian warfare; and a few left their guns and ammunition also, as they felt sure that we had a fight on our hands.

When all had left, I had fifteen out of my sixty men remaining. About the same was the case with the other companies. After these men had left, some were in favor of evacuating the town, but Colonel Flandrau and many others would not listen to that, as there were over two hundred recruits at Fort Snelling who could be armed and sent to our relief at once, and he believed they would be there within forty-eight hours. This was Wednesday, August 20th. The day before, Indians had been murdering people all along the western line of Minnesota, and by Thursday night five or six hundred refugees, some of them wounded, had reached New Ulm for safety. Hospitals were extemporized for the sick and wounded, making a great demand for doctors and nurses.

No Indians had been seen near New Ulm during the day, but four companies of militia arrived, one from Blue Earth City, one [from] Shelbyville, one from Waseca, and one from Henderson, in all about two hundred men, which greatly renewed our confidence. That night word was received from up the Big Cottonwood River, fifteen miles away, that one hundred settlers, men, women, and children, had taken refuge in a swamp near Leavenworth, which was surrounded by Indians. This information came to us by two men, one of them with an arm broken by a shot from an Indian. We at once organized a force of one hundred men to go to their relief, to start as soon as possible, still leaving a force of one hundred fifty well-armed men to protect the city. During the day we could hear the cannon booming at Fort Ridgely on the Sioux agency [*reservation*], eighteen miles up Minnesota River, which meant that the main body of the Sioux had attacked the fort. Before starting to relieve the people surrounded in the swamp about ten miles south of Fort Ridgely, Colonel

Flandrau gave us orders that if the firing at Fort Ridgely ceased, to return at once to New Ulm.

We started out mounted, and taking several wagons with us to bring in the sick and wounded. Before we were out of sight of the city we found dead bodies, and before reaching the besieged settlers we had found sixty-five slain by the Indians. During all of this time the firing at Fort Ridgely continued. Many scattered Indians were seen during our march, but they kept out of reach of our guns. We found the surrounded people we went to relieve to be all foreigners. Very few of them could speak a word of our language. They had been attacked by the Indians on Tuesday, the 19th, and had been in the swamp three days, during which time six had died and were still unburied, in which condition we were obliged to leave them. The wounded and women and children were put in the wagons and we started to return. We had only gotten fairly started when a man came riding towards us greatly excited and said that three families with their teams were surrounded by the Indians within two miles of us and would all be killed unless they had help at once. We halted our train and decided to send half of our force to their rescue. We soon found the wagons, but were too late to save the people. All had been murdered and scalped.

After starting on our march we saw that Fort Ridgely was burning, the guns had ceased firing, and we concluded that the fort had been captured by the Indians. We knew that in that case New Ulm would be the next place to be attacked. It was now nearly night and we were fifteen miles from New Ulm by the shortest route; and if we took that route, we would have to cross the Cottonwood River three times, exposing us to three bad places for the Indians to trap us in ambuscades. Scattering Indians were in sight watching our movements. We knew they were cowardly and would never make an attack on an armed force in the night. We therefore decided to take the river road, which was ten miles shorter than the prairie road we came over. So, as soon as it was dark, we started,

meeting with no trouble and reaching New Ulm before daylight on Saturday, August 23rd.[1]

The four Wisconsin men who joined us at Butternut Creek proved to be made of the right kind of stuff for fighting Indians, but one of them had been taken violently ill on Friday while on the Cottonwood trip, and on Saturday morning he desired to start for his home, and his companions promised him he should go. So Saturday these four men started for St. Peter, thirty miles down the river, where they had to cross by ferry. Soon after crossing, they were attacked by Indians that had been sent out from Fort Ridgely to destroy the ferry at New Ulm, and three of them were killed. The other one reached his home in Wisconsin.

After destroying the two ferries at New Ulm to prevent escape by those routes, the entire force of Indians that had been besieging Fort Ridgely for three days appeared at nine o'clock on Saturday morning and made a desperate attack on the west side with a determined purpose to burn the city and murder all who were in it, and then strike Mankato and reach the Winnebago agency, where they were sure that from three to six hundred Winnebago warriors would join them in massacring the whites.

The Indians were greatly disappointed in not cutting off our party the day before on the Cottonwood River as they had planned to do, but our night march and getting into New Ulm before daylight deceived them, and no doubt saved our lives, and was one of the causes of saving the city and people from destruction also.

During their attack on New Ulm two men might be seen almost in front and a little to the right of the Indians at their work of death, entering the city on the run from a narrow skirt of timber on the west side of the bluff. They were from Lake Shetek, sixty-five miles west of New Ulm, where there

[1] Compare with the account by Major Buell in *M. H. C.* 10: 792 (part 2), and with that of Dr. Daniels in *M. H. C.* 15: 327, both of whom were members of the relief expedition to Leavenworth.

was a settlement of about one hundred persons, the farthest west of any settlement of the state. On Monday, the 18th, the Indians had attacked them. They had defended themselves as long as possible. On Tuesday night these two men, named W. H. Dooley [*W. J. Duly*] and Henry W. Smith, with their wives who were sisters, and their six children, and one team, started for New Ulm. Early on Wednesday the Indians overtook them. They abandoned their wagon and concealed themselves in the long grass, but during the day the Indians killed the six children, and captured the two women, who were held prisoners for eleven months until the government ransomed them for two thousand dollars in gold. The two men made their escape, and supposed their wives as well as the children were dead up to the time they were brought in after being redeemed. They had come into Minnesota as hunters and trappers long before it was a state, in advance of any regular settlers; had become well acquainted and were very friendly with the Indians and could speak their language readily. They had bravely fought the fifty Indians who attacked their homes for nearly two days, the Indians themselves admitting afterwards that these two men had killed five of them in that time before they decided to abandon it and seek safety in flight. As will be narrated hereafter, at the subsequent execution of thirty-eight Sioux chiefs for these murders, W. H. Dooley asked and was granted the privilege of cutting the rope that sent them from the scaffold to their imagined hunting grounds. These two men afterwards helped constitute the cavalry company which I subsequently helped form as first lieutenant, Company B, Mounted Rangers, but before we were mustered into service, Dooley was made chief of scouts over seventy-five friendly and loyal Indians, with the rank of captain, and held that position until the close of the Indian war. H. W. Smith was a first-class soldier, and served in my company until the regiment was mustered out. Both men have now passed away, but the two sisters and wives, when I last heard

from them, were still living together in Blue Earth County, Minnesota.[1]

Let us return now to the battle of New Ulm. This second attack was made mainly upon the west side of the city where the first one was, where buildings had already been burned and people murdered. As they came on with their ponies on the run, yelling and whooping and singing their war songs, painted in all colors, some nearly naked and others with blankets and feather headdresses flying, they made a bold dash to cut off Dooley and Smith and capture or kill them. This dash cost us two men and cost them the lives of several of their warriors. For three days our men had been busy throwing up breastworks at different points around the borders of the city, and between two and three hundred men were [stationed] behind them, besides fifty or more men on horseback. The Indians had spread out before us like a great fan, riding back and forth, coming closer and closer, leaning on the opposite side of their ponies and firing at us from under their horses' necks, their yells and war whoops becoming more fierce as they came nearer. Suddenly a panic seized our men in the trenches and those on horseback, and together they made a wild rush for the center of the city, followed by the Indians

[1] Captain Potter seems to be quite alone in his belief that Mrs. Smith was taken captive by the Indians along with her sister Mrs. Duly and other women and children, and later ransomed. The most reliable reports agree in saying that Mrs. Smith was among those of the party of refugees who were killed on August 20. Compare Mrs. Eastlick's story of her experiences at the massacre of Lake Shetek, related in a pamphlet entitled *Thrilling Incidents in the Indian War of 1862; Being a Personal Narrative of the Outrages and Horrors Witnessed by Mrs. L. Eastlick in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1864. 37 p.); *Mankato Semi-weekly Record,* August 30 and October 18, 1862, January 31, 1863; *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* September 3, 1862. See also James Starkey, *Reminiscences of Indian Depredations,* 21–24 (St. Paul, 1891), in which is given an account of an expedition to Lake Shetek in October, 1863, for the purpose of interring the remains of those who were killed at that place. Captain Starkey's company acted as escort, and among the members of the party were Mr. Duly and Mr. Smith.

yelling and whooping louder and fiercer than ever. But when they came to the dwellings, they began to stop to plunder them and set fire to them. But this aided to stop the panic of our men, when they saw that they were not so fiercely pursued.

In attempting to check the flight, Captain Sanders, the minister commanding the Le Sueur company, was seriously wounded and fell from his horse. My horse was shot and killed from under me either by the Indians or our own panic-stricken men firing as they retreated. Several men were thus injured while with me in the rear trying to check and rally the fugitives, some of whom on foot and others on horses never stopped until they reached their homes from ten to forty miles away. A few were killed by the Indian scouts sent out to guard the roads leading east from the city and prevent the escape of our men. The previous night Colonel Flandrau had ordered a barricade built through the main street to protect the refugees and their families who had come into the city for refuge, and also as a central rallying point for our men if driven in. It consisted of wagons in two lines, on each side of the street, each wagon a few feet apart and plank run between them. This was about forty rods long with a space of eight feet between the barricades. It was almost completed when the panic occurred, and most of our men took possession of it. This, with the Indians stopping to plunder and burn houses, gave them time to recover confidence and courage and to determine to give the Indians the best fight there was in us. That delay of an hour on the part of the Indians was our salvation. But by noon they were burning houses in nearly all directions on the outskirts of the town.

Up to this time no help had come. We had learned that one hundred men under General Sibley were at St. Peter, armed but without ammunition, waiting to come to our relief as soon as ammunition could be obtained. A large body of men had appeared on the opposite side of the river near the lower ferry, which had been destroyed, and they left, not being able to cross. They were two companies of militia from Henderson

and Shakopee, [who], when seeing the city on fire on all sides and the ferry destroyed, concluded to return to St. Peter. About two o'clock the wind began to blow strongly from the east, and the Indians decided to set fire on that side, thus driving it into the business part of the city and burn us out completely. For that purpose about five hundred of them, mounted, gathered on a hill on the Mankato road leading into the town and were approaching at a distance, when the report started that it was Sibley coming to our relief. Captain Dodd was so certain of it that he started out on his fine black horse to meet them. In vain we tried to stop him. He went on at full speed until the Indians fired a volley at him. He then turned back and fell dead before he reached us, pierced by many balls, and soon his horse also fell dead.

As the Indians were making this desperate effort to burn us out, Colonel Flandrau saw that something must be done at once to prevent it, and called for volunteers to go and drive them out of a thick piece of oak brush running along the north side of the Mankato road, which they had taken possession of as a shelter and ambush to work from, covering some five acres of ground. I had just been struck by two buckshot in my left cheek, which momentarily stunned me. I fell and, seeing I was hit in the face, those with me thought I was dead and took my Sharp's rifle, Colt's revolver, and ammunition, and were about to leave me, when I recovered and was taken to the nearest hospital. Doctor McMahan examined my wounds, took the shot from my face, told me I was not badly injured, gave me a little stimulus, and I at once started as one of the volunteers in driving the Indians from their shelter in the brush. We had about one hundred of our best men, well armed, led by Colonel Flandrau, and [we] dashed into that brush with a rush and war whoop that made the Indians conclude we could fight and beat them at their own game. It was a bloody, close-range, desperate fight. A number on both sides were killed. Colonel Flandrau's clothes were in many places pierced with bullets, and his gunstock

also. A fine-looking young man by my side was shot in the mouth, his tongue cut off, and he died the next day. But in fifteen minutes we had driven them away, and they made no attempt to burn us out again that day from that direction. But from their movements that afternoon, aside from the burning of some houses on the outskirts, we were sure that another attack would be made by them, as they expected to be reinforced. So when night came, they built fires south and west of us out of range of our guns, and held war dances all night long, preparing for the fight the next day.

Colonel Flandrau called a council of all the officers and discussed the situation in all its features. Some were for vacating the place that night, but others knew the Indians best and were certain that would result in death to us all. At last we decided on burning all the buildings that would stand in our way or afford shelter to the Indians in an attack upon our barricade or fortification on the main street. We burned about forty buildings during the night, and those left were barricaded as much as possible and portholes made. Our best men and guns were put in these houses and [the men] instructed not to fire until the Indians were within close range. Ammunition was scarce, and every shot must count for the best. Some of the women engaged in casting bullets, others in preparing bandages and making coffee and carrying it around to the men. During the night the men kept busy strengthening our fortifications in every possible way. Some few, who felt sure we would all be massacred the next day, stole away and left for their homes. Some reached them, and some did not. When Sunday morning came, we all felt confident that the Indians could not conquer us. During the night some of the men had extemporized a cannon in appearance from stovepipe mounted on wheels, and placed one at each end of our barricade where the Indians could see them. They are superstitiously afraid of a cannon. Near these they placed blacksmiths' anvils to do the firing with in case they made an attack in a body. Soon after daylight we could see the Indians forming in large bodies on the east

and south of the city. Soon about fifty appeared on the west for the purpose of drawing our men out of our barricades in that direction. They put on a bold front and came within rifle range and dared us to come out for a fair fight, but our men kept under cover and held their fire. In the meantime their main parties from the south and east were advancing in battle array, their leaders on ponies making a great display beating Indian drums and other instruments, mingled with war whoops to lead them on to victory and slaughter. As they came nearer, they all looked as if freshly painted for that Sunday morning's deadly work. It was clear from the large numbers in sight that they had received heavy reinforcements in the night. Occasionally a gun was fired by them, but not a gun had yet been fired by us. They were led by an Indian dressed in white men's clothes, [with] a tall silk hat on, and mounted on a fine American horse, all of which he had stolen. They halted within twenty rods of the east end of our barricade, when orders were given our men to fire, and such a volley as they had never experienced before poured into them from all the houses and the east part of the barricade. As soon as the smoke cleared away, we saw the fatal effect of the volley on their ranks, and most of them were hurrying away from us very much faster than they came. The fine horse, [which] the silk-hatted chief, Little Crow, [was] riding proudly a moment before, lay dead, with a number of his warriors. At the instant of firing the volley into their ranks, the stovepipe cannon, with the anvils to make the noise, were also let loose on them several times for the moral effect, and as we afterwards learned, they believed that during the night we had got some of the cannon from Fort Ridgely to use on them.

The Indians now withdrew about two miles west onto the bluffs in plain sight and held a council and soon disappeared. As soon as we were sure they had left for good, we decided to evacuate the town at once, as we had about two thousand people to care for in less than thirty houses, eighty wounded and dying for want of proper care, and not provisions enough

to last twenty-four hours, with no prospect of relief from the towns below. Orders were at once given for all the teams to be gotten ready to take the sick and wounded to Mankato, and by noon we were ready to start. No sadder sight than we were about to leave could well be presented. For five days men, women, and children had lain dead in the little city, many others badly wounded without proper attention, the most of the city now a smouldering ruin, and every inhabitant a fleeing fugitive from his home; and if the Indians learned of our evacuation, they could massacre us all before reaching Mankato. When [we were] ready to start, it was found that a number of wagons were loaded with household stuff, which was ordered taken out, except bedding for the wounded. When [we were] nearing the Cottonwood River, Captain Cox with one hundred men was met coming to our relief. When informed of the situation, he countermarched his men to return with us. Reaching the bluff of the Big Cottonwood, Senator Swift (afterwards governor of Minnesota), in command of the rear guard, noticed that the stars and stripes had been left flying from the Fuller Block in New Ulm, the only brick building in the city, and he at once halted his two companies and said it should be taken down and saved, and called upon one of his companies to go back and save it. They hesitated and thought it unnecessary to spend the time and run the risk. I said to him, "If you will let me take your horse and [will] hold your companies here, I will bring you that flag in fifteen minutes." I took the horse, a good one, and returned safely with the flag, and received the hearty cheers of the two companies, mostly Germans, who thought the deed a dangerous one. In passing through the building to reach the flag, I had to step over two dead bodies on the second floor, which had been used for a hospital.

We soon overtook the rear of our train, and reached Mankato early on Monday morning, having kept on the march all night. It was stated that nine of the wounded had died on the way. With us on this retreat was a Swede woman, who had

lost her husband and three children before reaching New Ulm for safety, and was herself wounded in her left arm. While on the way from New Ulm to Mankato she gave birth to a boy, and I have recently learned that at the present time this boy, now forty-five years old, is living in Montana.

After we reached Mankato, we found that almost all the settlers in Minnesota were leaving for Wisconsin, bound to put the Mississippi River between them and the hostile Indians, this stampede being caused largely by the burning of New Ulm on [the] Saturday previous, and the report that all who had gone to our relief had been murdered by the Indians. Colonel Flandrau at once decided that something must be done at once to stop the stampede; and he called for three men to take the best horses that could be had and take three different roads and let the people know that we had whipped the Indians, who had returned to their reservations. I volunteered to go for one of the three, and got a good horse of Daniel Tyner, the sheriff of Blue Earth County, which had been in the siege of New Ulm and which I had ridden some after my horse was killed. While the horse was being fed and gotten ready, I took breakfast with Mr. Piper and his wife from Garden City. My shirt and left side were still covered with blood from the wound in my face, and Mrs. Piper wanted me to put on some clean clothes, which I declined to do, as in going out to stop the people from leaving the country, my bloody clothing would be positive proof that I had been in the fight at New Ulm and had come to let them know that it was a fact that we had whipped the Indians.

Before starting, Colonel Flandrau handed me an order reading about as follows: "I have ordered Captain Potter, who has been with me for five days in the siege of New Ulm, to inform all settlers who are leaving the state on account of the Sioux war that the Indians have been whipped at New Ulm and driven back onto their reservations; and that he is authorized to say to you that it will be safe for you to return to your homes. I have empowered him to place guards on all roads

and bridges to give all this information; and also empowered him to press any horse he needs into his service for these purposes. By order of Charles E. Flandrau, Commander-in-Chief of State Militia."

As I mounted my horse to start on my mission, a stranger stepped up to me and handed me a new Colt's revolver, belt and ammunition, saying, "You may need this; keep it until I call for it." I strapped both on with one belt and bid the boys good-bye and rode rapidly away. The first twelve miles was through a timbered country, which I made in about seventy-five minutes, reaching the Winnebago Indian agency and giving the agent the first news he had received of the result of the fight at New Ulm. I also showed him my orders from Colonel Flandrau. Many of the Winnebagoes were present and much excited. He informed them of the situation through an interpreter and called on one of the boss farmers of the reservation to take six of his most reliable Indians and escort me to Wilton, twelve miles just east of the reservation line in Waseca County. We passed many settlers on the way with wagons loaded with their families, to whom we announced the defeat of the Indians and told them it would be safe for them to return to their homes. At Wilton we had to cross the Le Sueur River on a long wooden bridge, and at once obtained a guard for it, and gave them orders not to allow teams going east to pass, and also posted a copy of my orders on the bridge for all to read for themselves. Some became very angry and [were] disposed to force their way across. Among these were some of my well-known neighbors from Garden City, fleeing from the state.

As an illustration of the intense panic of the people I will mention the case of John Thompson from six miles south of Garden City, where he owned and worked a large farm, who had left his home in the night with his family and two wagons of household goods, determined to cross the river, saying he could see Garden City on fire at the time he left; and, though he knew I was in the fight at New Ulm, he believed I was only

one of the few who escaped, and that within a week the entire state would be in the hands of the Sioux. And he told me if I had any hopes for the country, he would give me a deed for all his land if I would give him enough for it to get himself and family across the Mississippi River. I told him that he would be back to his home within ten days, which proved true, and then left him to hurry on to Waseca, fifteen miles further east, accompanied by two other mounted men. On our way we met a company of sixty mounted men from Dodge County, to whom I showed my orders, and they returned with us to Waseca.

As I had ridden my horse forty miles in six hours, he showed signs of giving out. I told the captain of this company that I wanted to go on to Owatonna that night, and must have the best horse to be gotten in Waseca, and wanted him to have Colonel Flandrau's orders copied and sent out on every road and stop people from leaving the state. While a horse was being provided me, this was done, and the orders carried out in every direction by the captain's command. By this time the buckshot wounds in my face had become very painful. I had a physician examine them, who told me that they should be attended to at once, as there was danger of blood poisoning setting in. I told him that I would attend to it as soon as I reached Owatonna. It was now nearly four o'clock, and twenty-five miles yet to ride. Two men of this militia lived in Owatonna and the captain had them accompany me. We passed many teams hurrying across the Mississippi River, all of whom we told it would now be safe for them at their homes. Among these were several men who knew me, and my bloody shirt and [the] wounds in my face and [the] revolvers in my belt convinced them that I had been in the fight and told them the truth about it.

We reached Owatonna at seven o'clock and gave them their first information of the defeat of the Indians, which gave much joy. After having my horse cared for, I told the landlord I wanted a good surgeon to attend to my face, and in less than

five minutes I had two physicians attending the first wounded man in that town from the seat of the Indian war. In probing and cleaning out the wound, they found a sliver which had gotten into it by the shot first passing through the board of a fence near which I stood at the time for partial protection. I informed the doctors that I had not had my clothes off for six days and did not remember taking any sleep during all that time. They got me a clean shirt and a pair of pants in exchange for the bloody ones, but I told them I believed my bloody clothes and wounded face, with Colonel Flandrau's orders, had done more than anything else that day to stop hundreds of people and get them to return to their homes, and [that I] had better wear them. I washed my face, borrowed a night shirt, and went to bed, after ordering a good fresh horse or team to be ready for me to start at twelve o'clock that night for Albert Lea, forty miles south of Owatonna. A man with a good team was found to take the ride with me. Before going to bed, I told the doctors that, as I could do little myself that night, I wished they would see some of the citizens and have Colonel Flandrau's orders printed and distributed the next day in all directions. I then got four hours' sleep before being called up to take the night ride to Albert Lea, on which we started at one o'clock.

During our six hours' ride we were halted four times by camp guards put out to watch against Indians. Being well supplied with extra copies of the paper containing Colonel Flandrau's order and the news from New Ulm, we distributed them in all the camps of settlers as well as those on the move during the night. By seven o'clock Tuesday morning we were at Albert Lea, and gave them also the first good news they had received from New Ulm. We found a greater crowd of settlers here rushing out of the state than we had found anywhere else, as nearly all south and west of Mankato had taken a southern route to avoid crossing the Winnebago reservation. At Albert Lea there were two roads leading east to the Mississippi River, one crossing at La Crosse and the other

going into the northern part of Iowa and crossing the river at Prairie du Chien. Men were sent out at once on horses to notify those who had passed through town the day before or during the night of the needlessness of their going farther. So I concluded to stay there until noon, then ride to Wells, forty miles west in Faribault County. By this means I got another short sleep which I greatly needed, and a fresh poultice on my face. My bloody clothes still attracted much attention, and many wild and foolish questions were asked me by men who were so frightened as to be determined to get the great river between them and the Indians before feeling safe.

After a good dinner I mounted a fresh horse, which took me into Wells in less than six hours. Here the news of the defeat of the Indians had reached them, and most of the refugees had gone into camp waiting for further information to confirm it before starting back to their homes. I found one camp where they were burying a woman who had died from fright; and another where one had died from overexposure; and many incidents of this kind could be given to show the sufferings caused by this Indian outbreak.

I stayed at Wells overnight, and found several men I knew, four of whom had gone with me to New Ulm and taken part in the first day's fight and then left to go and look after their families. Next day, the excitement at Wells having subsided and most of the families preparing to return to their homes, I made arrangements for a fresh horse to take me back to Mankato by the way of Minnesota Lake, Mapleton, and Garden City, a distance of fifty miles, meeting on the way but few teams or camps of refugees in comparison with the previous days, to whom the now-old story was told, some of whom had camped only to wait to have the good news confirmed.

At Mapleton I found the most of our Garden City people in camp waiting to see me, as they had heard I was to return to Garden City that way. As I rode into their camp, they gave me three cheers, and the man in command of the camp was the one who gave me his horse to ride when I left for

New Ulm in command of our militia company. The first question he asked me was, what had become of his horse, and I told him that in our fight the Indians had taken his horse with them to their looked-for happy hunting grounds beyond the clouds where he would probably be well taken care of, as they knew he was a "brave" horse, killed right in the front line of battle, with a number of them, in his faithful discharge of duty, about ten o'clock that Saturday. He said it was a good horse, and that some one would have to pay for it. I assured him he should be paid for his horse, took dinner with them, and they told me they would all start back for Garden City next day, if no bad news came.

I reached Garden City at sunset, not one of its people being willing to come with me, nor did I meet any one on all this fifteen miles' ride, the country seeming to have been wholly deserted. In this village of four hundred population the week before, not one was left. I put my horse in the same stable from which the one was taken that I rode and was killed; then went to some of the business houses and found two open, and helped myself to coffee, crackers, cheese, and sardines. I went to my own home, made a fire, and got my supper; washed up and exchanged my week-old, blood-stiff clothes for entire clean ones; went to the barn and took good care of my horse; then went to the Williams store and spread a bolt of cotton cloth on the floor, took a roll of cotton batting for a pillow, and lay down and slept soundly until daylight next morning. After breakfast I rode around town to different places and found the doors locked and everything undisturbed, and started for Mankato, supposing I was the only person in town that night; but I afterwards learned that a Polish doctor with his wife and six children, for whom there was no conveyance when all the others left, had stayed overnight in the log schoolhouse as the safest place they could find. They barricaded the doors and windows and stayed there for four days, until most of the people had come back to their homes.

Before reaching Mankato, I met the two Williams brothers of Garden City, merchants, with two other men going back home, and I assured them the village was all right, as I slept in their store, but had come away and forgotten to make up my bed. They said the people believed the Indian war was over and had been looking for my return and report as to the condition of the country I had been through the past three days. I told them that Garden City people would return that day, and then rode on, and was soon in Mankato and at the headquarters of Colonel Flandrau, giving him a verbal report of my mission, he approving and complimenting the work I had done.

The colonel told me he had been ordered to make his headquarters at South Bend, three miles west of Mankato, and wanted me to act as one of his aides, with the rank of first lieutenant, to carry dispatches back and forth in the Indian country, and to take command of a number of men to be detailed to serve at headquarters. He also said I had been elected first lieutenant of a company raised the day before to be stationed at South Bend, and that he would give me all the work I would want to do for the next thirty days. That night we were quartered at South Bend in a large hotel, which made fine accommodations for the company of sixty men who were to be mounted on the best of horses and prepared for special duty.

My first outside duty was to carry a dispatch to Fort Ridgely, to take twenty men with me and stay overnight; and [we] were there to meet General Sibley with two thousand men, who were preparing to follow and chastise the Indians for the depredations and murders they had recently committed. While at the fort, I visited the hospital and saw ten wounded men who had escaped, of Captain Marsh's company, which was ambushed by the Indians at the ferry-crossing of Redwood Agency, and nearly all destroyed; also several others wounded at the ambush, Birch Coolie. These [ambuscades], with the

one afterwards of General Custer's in Montana, were considered the worst ever perpetrated by the Indians in this country.

My next important dispatch duty took me not long afterwards to Fort Snelling, seventy-five miles, to carry there the news of General Sibley's victory over the Indians in his battle with them at Wood Lake, near the Yellow Medicine Agency, about thirty-five miles northwest of Fort Ridgely. In carrying this dispatch, I took only one man with me, as there was little or no danger, and made the ride in one day. After stopping over one day at Fort Snelling and St. Paul, I was ordered to take sixty mounted men, selected from different militia companies, and make a forced march to Madelia, twenty-five miles southwest of South Bend, where a party of Sioux had massacred several families, and report to Captain Cox, who, with his company of thirty-day militia, had been stationed there for two weeks with orders to build a blockhouse or log fort for the protection of that extreme border settlement. We started about dark, taking the shortest route by way of Loon and Crystal lakes, over an unbroken prairie the most of the way, aided by the light of the moon until twelve o'clock, when we had to make the last five miles through a drenching rain and so dark we could only keep the road by having a man go on foot with a tallow-candle lantern to lead the way. It was nearly two o'clock in the morning when we reached our destination and were halted by the guard at the blockhouse, which they had finished except the roof. Our coming was a great relief to them. Four persons had been killed by the Indians in sight of the village and their dead bodies brought in.

At ten o'clock that night a Norwegian settler came in from eight miles southwest of Madelia on the south fork of the Watonwan River and reported that four members of his family had been killed and he alone escaped with a wounded arm, and that the Indians were making their way up the river towards where about twenty-five families had returned to their farms within a few days. They were all foreigners and lived in a beautiful valley nearly twenty miles from Madelia. I told

Captain Cox that it meant sure death to those families unless we went to their protection. He said he could not leave his post without orders. I asked him if he were willing I should take my men and go to their rescue. He consented, but warned me that we might fall into an ambush and be destroyed as the St. Paul company had been at Birch Coolie only two weeks before. I saw that some of his men wanted to go with me, and asked him if he was willing they should, but he said he was there with his company to protect that post and could not consent to have any of his men leave him. We had our rations with us and the cooks of Cox's company made us coffee, and at four o'clock in the morning, after only two hours' rest, we were on our way to save these families. It was so dark I could not tell how many men I had. As soon as it was sufficiently light to see, I rode down the double line to ascertain, and found I had one hundred mounted men and three teams in the rear loaded with armed men. Occasionally a man would tell me he belonged to Cox's company, but was going with me. Those in the wagons were some of them.

Suddenly a thick fog settled down upon us, so that a man could not be seen a rod away. I was riding at the head of the column with two pioneer guides showing us the road, when suddenly a man appeared in the road in our front, who proved to be one of those we were hastening to relieve. He could not speak a word of English, but a part of my men were Norwegians, and we soon learned his name. He had been shot in the breast just at dark the night before, and was holding his straw hat, which had been pierced by two balls, before the wound in his breast. He told us he was sure his wife and two boys had been killed. We learned that we were near the ford of the river where this man lived, and by crossing the river at this ford we could save eight miles in reaching the settlement. But some of the men thought it would be dangerous to go down into the bush at the river bottom where the Indians might be hiding in ambush. The fog had begun to raise, and I told the men that if we reached these families

ahead of the Indians, we would have to cross this ford, and to follow me and we would cross it safely. When we struck the river bottom the fog was still so dense that we could not see twenty feet ahead of us, but as soon as we reached the high bank on the other side and above the thick fog we could see quite clearly. Here we found the wife of the wounded Norwegian, herself badly wounded and hidden in a thick grove of plum trees near their log house, and told her that her husband was alive, and that they would at once be sent to Madelia.

Leaving ten men to take care of them, we hurried on for the larger settlement, all the way over an open prairie. About eight o'clock we reached the first house in the valley and found it deserted. A kettle of potatoes was boiling over the fire and [there was] no evidence that the Indians had been there. It proved afterwards that they had seen us coming and, believing us to be Indians, had fled and spread the alarm. So it was three hours before we found the entire settlement gathered at one house three miles up the river, badly frightened and expecting the savages upon them at any moment. It was one o'clock before we could get these people with their teams together and with a few household goods started for Madelia. There were twenty-seven wagons in line, and to avoid ambush we took the long route back over the open prairie, making twenty-eight miles, a long, slow march for those teams and people who had only just got back to their homes from the other stampede of over one hundred miles, as well as for the main part of the rest of us who had been in the saddle all night. Late in the afternoon we saw at our left on the opposite side of the river four mounted Indian scouts riding in the same direction with us, who fired their guns and rode out of sight in the timber. This incident gave us some anxiety, and I decided to send a dispatch to Captain Cox in regard to the situation and ask for immediate assistance. The two men with this dispatch returned and met us at nine o'clock that night, and said Captain Cox could not reinforce us as part of his men

were with us and he was himself in danger of being attacked in the morning, and our best course would be to continue our march and reach Madelia about two o'clock in the morning, which plan was adopted and safely accomplished.[1]

At the trial and execution of the Indians the next December at Mankato for these murders, it was shown that twenty-five Indians took part in these raids and massacres around Madelia, killed seventeen settlers and wounded many more, captured two white women and took them fifty miles and then murdered them, as they had learned that General Sibley's forces were driving their warriors all out of the state and they were very angry. The chief of this party was one of the thirty-eight hung at Mankato on the twenty-sixth day of December, 1862.

We remained at Madelia until we knew these Indians had gone out of the state. Then [we] returned to South Bend. Our thirty days' enlistment had now expired, and Colonel Flandrau had been notified that Colonel Montgomery with the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin Volunteer Regiment would be stationed at South Bend, the militia mustered out, and from then on the Indians would be fought by United States troops under General Pope, with headquarters at Fort Snelling.

About the same time the national government called for a regiment of cavalry to be raised in Minnesota to fight the Indians, and I received a commission to recruit one of the companies. So the next day after my thirty days' commission expired, I took seventy-five men to St. Peter to unite with twenty-five men which a man by the name of Horace Austin had recruited. Being anxious to get our muster rolls to headquarters first of any company and become entitled to the position of company A in the regiment, I waived the position of

[1] For accounts of the Indian raids near Madelia and of conditions existing in the Watonwan Valley, see the *Mankato Semi-weekly Record,* September 27, 1862; *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* September 27, 1862. See also Adjutant General Malmros' report on the organization and disposition of Captain Bierbauer's company, of which Captain Potter was first lieutenant, in Minnesota, *Executive Documents,* 1862, pp. 372, 503, 508.

captain, to which I was entitled by my number of men, in favor of Austin, who was anxious for it and [who was] a well-educated and brilliant lawyer; and in order not to have any delay, I took the office of first lieutenant. Austin had served as private in the militia, and was captain of our company until the regiment was mustered out; [he was] then elected circuit judge for six years; [and was] afterwards governor of the state for two terms. Thomas F. West was elected second lieutenant. Austin and he have both died within the past three years.

As soon as the company officers were elected, Captain Austin and I took the stage for St. Paul, reaching there the same day, and at once handed in our company muster roll and were told that ours was the first to be put on record. But by some kind of wirepulling and underhand work a Minneapolis company was given letter A, and we had to take up with B company. The horses for the regiment had arrived and were at Fort Snelling. Company A had the first choice of horses and selected bays, and we selected all grays for Company B. The captain returned to St. Peter to look after the men, and I remained to look after the horses, until arrangements could be made to get the horses and equipments to St. Peter. In less than a week we were mustered into the United States service, uniformed, armed, mounted, and ready for orders.

By this time most of the hostile Indians had been driven out of the state into Dakota, and the season was getting too late to follow them up that fall. Many of the outlaws had been captured and were being tried by court-martial at Camp Release, one hundred miles up the river from St. Peter. This court was in session nearly three weeks, and resulted in condemning to death three hundred twenty-one of the Indians implicated in the many murders of the unarmed and defenceless settlers in the state; and [they were] brought to Mankato, chained in twos, confined in the barracks, and guarded by our soldiers until the president could review the proceedings and pass upon the ver-

dict.[1] But he was not hasty in coming to a decision, and a great majority in the state began to think that the condemned Indians would be set free, as many petitions were being sent to the president from the eastern states for their release, on account of which several attempts were made by the enraged settlers, who had suffered so severely in lives and property, to surprise and kill all of the guilty and condemned Indians. One attempt came near execution. One hundred fifty men, who had lost members of their families by these murders, banded together, were sworn in and armed with revolvers, and officered by some of the best and bravest men in Minnesota, the day and hour fixed for the deed, when one of their own men betrayed the secret to the colonel commanding the regiment guarding the prisoners, who was thus enabled to frustrate the attempt by disarming them and compelling their submission to the law.[2]

About the fifteenth of December President Lincoln's order came to execute thirty-nine of the Indians who were the chiefs and leaders of the parties that massacred the fifteen hundred white men, women, and children in Minnesota in August and September, 1862. The following is a copy of the order:

[1] The incidents of the court-martial begun the latter part of September at Camp Release and continued at Camp Sibley, Lower Agency, by the military commission appointed by General Sibley, were reported in the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* November 15, 1862, by Isaac V. D. Heard, a prominent attorney of St. Paul, who had joined Sibley's expedition as a member of Captain Joseph Anderson's company of the Cullen Guards and whom Sibley appointed as recorder of the commission. *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars,* 1: 747, 778. Mr. Heard in 1865 brought out his *History of the Sioux War and Massacres of 1862 and 1863* (New York), based very largely on information gained during the trials. Pages 181–190, 231–271 are devoted to the history of the work of the commission.

[2] In a communication addressed to General Elliott, December 6, 1862, General Sibley tells of an attempt on the part of a company of citizens to capture the Indian prisoners from the militia guarding them; two days later in a note to Elliott he expresses a fear that other similar attempts will be made. *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars,* 2: 290, 291. See also Sergeant Ramer's account of attempts to kill the prisoners on the march to Mankato in "Narrative of the Seventh Regiment" in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars,* 1: 353.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, December 6th, 1862.

BRIGADIER GENERAL H. H. SIBLEY

St Paul Minnesota.

Ordered that of the Indians and Half-breeds sentenced to be hanged by the Military Commission, composed of Colonel Crooks, Lt. Colonel Marshall, Captain Grant, Captain Bailey, and Lieutenant Olin, and lately sitting in Minnesota, you cause to be executed on Friday the nineteenth day of December, instant, the following named, towit

[*Here follow the names of thirty-nine Indians*]

The other condemned prisoners you will hold subject to further orders, taking care that they neither escape, nor are subjected to any unlawful violence.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
President of the United States.[1]

On the morning of December 26th our company was ordered to march to Mankato to act as guard at the execution of the Indians. We were in our saddles and on the way before daylight. The distance was twelve miles. The thermometer registered thirty-five degrees below zero, and when we reached Mankato, many of the men had frozen ears and feet, and suffered severely from the intense cold.

At Mankato we met for the first time several other companies of our regiment, who had been ordered there to guard the Indian prisoners from violence while the thirty-nine were being executed. Hundreds of angry men from all over the state, who had suffered from the hands of these savages, were camped in sight of town, well armed and determined that the two hundred eighty-two Indians who were not to be executed that day by the law should suffer death by their hands.

Colonel Miller, who was in command of the troops, had a force of [a] full thousand men, including one battery of artil-

[1] Corrected to conform with the original letter now in the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. A telegraphic dispatch from President Lincoln, dated December 16, postponed the execution to the twenty-sixth of December. *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars,* 2: 292.

lery. The execution took place early in the afternoon. All of the thirty-nine Indians were ranged on one platform to be executed at the same moment in sight of a vast multitude of people, besides the two thousand troops. At the appointed time W. H. Dooley, the former chief of scouts, whose family had been killed by the Indians at Lake Shetek, stepped forward, and with an ax cut the two-inch rope that held the scaffolding suspended, and dropped the entire number in the tight grasp of death. Ten days before their death they had been taken from the barracks and put in a stone building near and in plain sight of where the gallows was being built. Missionaries who had formerly been with them for years were permitted with them during these ten days. When the time came for them to go onto the gallows, they had asked to have the chains taken from their legs so they could go on in Indian style, single file. This they did, singing an Indian war song, joined in by all the other prisoners. Then each Indian placed the rope around his own neck and sang while the caps were being drawn down over their eyes. For five minutes after the scaffold fell everything was as hushed and silent as death itself. Then the crowd began quietly to disperse.[1]

Many settlers, however, had formed into companies, prepared to make an attack on the barracks. Colonel Miller, however, had his forces well disposed to repel any attack that might be made; but with his disciplined force of well-armed men to

[1] For a full report of the execution and of the events immediately preceding, see the *Mankato Weekly Record, Supplement,* December 26, 1862. The account as given in this supplement was reprinted in the *Mankato Daily Review,* December 26, 1896, and later, with additional material, was issued in pamphlet form under the title *Execution of Thirty-eight Sioux Indians at Mankato, Minnesota, December 26, 1862* (Mankato, 1896. 8 p.). Other accounts by eye witnesses are: Father A. Ravoux, *Reminiscences, Memoirs, and Lectures,* 78–81 (St. Paul, 1890); Riggs, *Mary and I,* 179–185; Daniel Buck, *Indian Outbreaks,* 251–271 (Mankato, 1904); *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* December 28, 1862. Captain Potter in his account fails to note that, by an order of the president received on the evening of the 24th, the execution of Ta-tay-me-ma, one of the condemned prisoners, was postponed. *Mankato Weekly Record, Supplement,* December 26, 1862.

meet, the people and their leaders saw it would be a reckless attempt, and most of them left at once for their homes bitterly disappointed at the failure. As nearly all the soldiers present were Minnesota men, and many of them had had friends killed by the Indians, it was quite well understood among them that if an attack was made on the barracks and they were ordered to fire, they would do so, but so that none of the attacking party would get hurt.

The Indians were ordered to be buried on an island in the river near where they were executed and all in one grave, and a strong guard was placed to protect their remains. That night our company was returned to St. Peter. On the way several sleighs passed us at different times with only two men in each sleigh. The surgeon of our regiment, Dr. Weiser, was with us, and said to me that it looked as if those sleighs might have dead Indians in them in spite of the guard at the grave. I replied by assuring him that if there were Indians in those sleighs and they were dead, there was no danger from them of his losing his scalp. After reaching St. Peter and having supper at the Nicolet Hotel, the doctor invited me upstairs to the third floor, saying he had some valuable Indian relics he would like to show me. On entering the rooms, there lay three of the Indians that had been buried that afternoon and placed under a strong guard of a full company of live Minnesota soldiers. And the great mystery was how these Indians got out of there under the very eyes and in spite of the watchfulness of those guards. And it was soon afterwards known that they had all escaped the guard and the grave and that some of them had gone to Europe.[1] And that was all the punishment the settlers

[1] According to a contemporary newspaper account physicians from different parts of the state were present at the execution with the avowed intention of procuring the bodies of the condemned prisoners for scientific purposes. Orders were even received from doctors outside the state, a Chicago surgeon sending in a request for several, for which he agreed to pay ten dollars each. The writer of the article asserted that at the time of writing there remained in the grave very few, if any, of the bodies. *Mankato Weekly Record,* January 3, 1863. See also Buck, *Indian Outbreaks,* 370.

of Minnesota got out of the Indians for the fifteen hundred lives lost and property destroyed, in any direct way by themselves or the government.

About the first of March, 1863, four companies of our regiment were ordered to Fort Ridgely and thoroughly drilled all that month in preparation for the expedition planned by General Pope to enter Dakota early in the spring to capture and punish the hostile Indians who had escaped there during the previous fall. The winter had been very severe on them, and many had died from cold and hunger. Yet during the month of April several war parties had returned to Minnesota and commenced their destructive work again, and our battalion had plenty to do to protect the settlements. One party of fifteen passed within three miles of Fort Ridgely and killed several people near New Ulm. Our entire battalion was ordered out by companies in different directions to capture them. Captain Austin having been ordered on court-martial duty, I was ordered to take the company and strike the Cottonwood River near Sleepy Lake. We soon saw the Indians on the opposite side of the river making west hurriedly, leading horses they had stolen that morning from some of the settlers. They evidently had seen us, but we gained on them rapidly, and they abandoned their stolen horses and scattered in different directions, each by himself. We had with us four half-breed scouts besides W. H. Dooley and his brother-in-law, Smith, formerly especially mentioned in the siege of New Ulm, all of whom said that these Indians would make for a certain point where they could meet that night, and if we could make it before they did, we could stand some chance of capturing them. We decided to reach Walnut Grove that night, a distance of twenty miles, where we would find hay for our horses and some log houses in which we could [secure] shelter and rest for the night. We got there about midnight, fed our horses, and made coffee. Orders were given to be ready to start at daylight for Lake Shetek, fifteen miles away. Six miles brought us to the location where Dooley's and Smith's

families were overtaken and murdered the previous August. They had not been there since they made their escape. The ground was swampy and covered with water, making it useless to search for the bodies. At nine o'clock we came to Dooley's and Smith's homes at the south end of the lake, and found their hay and grain had all been used by troops that had gone through there in the fall. Here we divided our force and sent twenty men under W. H. Dooley up the east side of the lake, seven miles to the Ireland farm at the north end of the lake, where they were to secrete themselves and watch for the Indians; while the rest of us returned to the south end of the lake [and] crossed the Des Moines River, then high and full of floating ice, where we came near losing three men and horses in the heavy current and floes of ice. After crossing, we found stacks of hay, and two log houses whose occupants had been killed by the Indians. We made fires and dried our clothes and fed our horses, then divided the company again, leaving ten men having the poorest horses to remain until five o'clock, then go up the west side of the lake; while I took thirty men and went to the Great Oasis ten miles west near the Pipestone, a place of great resort for the Indians of the Northwest, where they obtained their soft red stone, out of which they made their pipes. Orders were to all meet at Ireland's farm that night, where we all camped together.

We were now over sixty miles from Fort Ridgely and concluded to return by way of Redwood River agency, a distance of eighty miles, but enabling us to obtain forage and rations at the agency and also find some game, the half-breeds told us, in the timber along the Redwood River. We started early, our route taking us over an open prairie. A few men were sent out as scouts on each flank with the double object of finding the trail of hostile Indians, if possible, or running onto some game that would be very welcome to the sixty men, who had been living two days on dry bread and coffee. All were to meet at Linn's crossing on the Redwood, twenty miles from our starting point. When nearing the Redwood, the party on

the east flank saw five mounted Indians making north at a rapid pace, and at once gave chase. The Indians crossed the river at Linn's ford, and our main force came up just in time to see them pass out of sight on the opposite side of the river. Twenty of us with good horses crossed and followed them up rapidly until we came in sight of them, when they separated and scattered in different directions, and we returned to the ford, where the rest of the company had arrived. Our hunting parties had gotten quite a variety of game during the forenoon, such as prairie wolves, foxes, badgers, skunks, and wild geese, which was dressed and being cooked in various ways when our party got to camp, and afforded us a fine relish with our bread and coffee.

By riding twenty miles that afternoon, we would be able to reach Fort Ridgely the next day. We went into camp on the south bank of the river under very unpleasant conditions. It was [a] cold, dark April night. We had but one full ration of bread and took our supper on a half ration with our coffee. The horses had only dry grass with a little corn. It was so cold the men could not sleep, and, sleepy and hungry, they were not in very good humor. It was twenty miles to Redwood Falls, and on consultation it was unanimously decided to push on for that place during the night. We started on about midnight. As we were in a part of the country never settled by white men, there was nothing to guide us but narrow and almost indistinguishable Indian trails, and often our half-breed guides would have to dismount in the darkness and feel for the way on their hands and knees, making slow progress. Not even the glimmer of a single star broke the gloom of the night. We rode four abreast, many of the men asleep on their horses. One sick man, Sergeant Jones, fell from his horse twice and had to be helped back. But we made that twenty miles in eight hours. The place was deserted, but we found plenty of hay, and about five bushels of corn on the ear, and shelter, using the logs of some of the Indian camps for wood to warm and cook with. The corn was divided with the men and horses,

the men roasting theirs by the log fires and enjoying the eating of it.

We stayed here until noon, then mounted, and reached Fort Ridgely at evening without capturing an Indian or losing a man. The other companies sent out at the same time in other directions returned the same night or next day, except one which was ordered up the Minnesota River to Big Stone Lake, taking six days' rations, returning the sixth day with one Indian, who claimed to be a friend of the whites and had voluntarily surrendered himself. Two days afterwards I was detailed to take this Indian to Fort Snelling and deliver him to General Pope, David Quinn, a half-breed government interpreter, accompanying me. Quinn was quite certain that this Indian was one of the outlaws engaged in the last raid. We took him, shackled, in a two-horse wagon to St. Peter and placed him in the county jail overnight, and next day by stage to Fort Snelling. After delivering the prisoner to General Pope, we went on to St. Paul. The interpreter Quinn followed up an investigation of this Indian until he obtained positive evidence that he was engaged in the massacres. He was tried, proved guilty, and hung in the fall of 1863 at Fort Snelling.

I was now expecting my wife and two small children back from Michigan as soon as navigation opened on the river. Boats had already come up as far as St. Paul, and the next one brought my family on their return to our home in Garden City. I went to General Sibley and obtained a furlough for one week to go with them and see them comfortably settled again in our former home. The next day after their arrival at St. Paul we took passage on one of the first boats up the Minnesota River that spring to Mankato, and obtained conveyance from there to Garden City. We found that most of the people had returned to their homes. Two companies of troops had been stationed there early in the winter and had built good log barracks, which gave the citizens a feeling of confidence and safety. In four days I had everything com-

fortably arranged for my family, returned to Mankato, and took a boat up the river, landing safely at Fort Ridgely.

We then had a busy time getting ready for the summer campaign against the Indians in Dakota. A large amount of supplies were being shipped up the river by boat to Camp Pope, which was to be the rendezvous and starting-point of the expedition, the entire force of which was to be composed of Minnesota troops, consisting of three regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, two batteries of light artillery, two companies of half-breed scouts, and one company of pioneers, in all some over three thousand men. On account of the wild and unsettled country the expedition had to depend on its own supplies, and was accompanied by one hundred twenty-five six-mule wagons and a pontoon train of forty six-mule teams, to cross the Missouri and other rivers if necessary.

This expedition moved from Camp Pope June 16th, 1863.[1] Our course was northwest, keeping in the valley of the Minnesota River, crossing many small tributaries, and making from fifteen to twenty miles a day. The scouts were kept busy in advance and on both flanks, with orders to report at once if

[1] A diary of the movements of the expedition, written by Stephen R. Riggs, who accompanied General Sibley as interpreter, appeared at intervals in the *St. Paul Daily Press,* June 14–September 6, 1863; Colonel William R. Marshall contributed an account of the battles of Big Mound, Buffalo Lake, and Stony Lake to the *St. Paul Daily Press,* August 15, 1863; and the official reports of General Sibley, Colonels Crooks and Baker, and Colonels Marshall and McPhail appeared in the same paper September 26, 27, and 30, 1863. Among other accounts, written by members of the expedition, may be noted the following: *A Journal of Sibley's Indian Expedition during the Summer of 1863 and Record of the Troops Employed* (Winona, Minnesota, 1864. 52 p.), by Arthur M. Daniels, of Company H, Sixth Infantry; *The Expedition against the Sioux Indians in 1863 under Gen. Henry H. Sibley* (St. Cloud, Minnesota, 1895. 22 p.), by Loren W. Collins, of Company F, Seventh Infantry; *A Thrilling Narrative of the Minnesota Massacre and the Sioux War of 1862–63,* pp. 199–255 (Chicago, c. 1896), by Alonzo P. Connolly, of Company A, Sixth Infantry; *Recollections of the Sioux Massacre, together with a Historical Sketch of the Sibley Expedition of 1863,* pp. 237–282 (Lake City, Minnesota, 1909), by Oscar G. Wall, of Company F, First Regiment Mounted Rangers; *History of*

any hostile Indians should be seen within ten miles of us. The pioneers located our camps and constructed earthworks every night. Ten days brought us to Big Stone Lake near the eastern line of Dakota, where we camped one day in Brown's Valley on the headwaters of the Minnesota River, flowing southeast into the Mississippi, and the Red River of the North, flowing north into the Hudson Bay, both rivers having their origin in two large lakes; the valley, which is two miles wide and five miles long, running between the two lakes and shedding waters into each in opposite directions in the nature of a divide. From here our march continued northwest to reach the big bend of the Sheyenne River, over one hundred miles away. After marching about fifty miles, the scouts reported that the grasshoppers had destroyed all the grass in advance of us, compelling us to halt and go into camp for one day, while the extent of the destitution of grass was ascertained. It was discovered that it extended about twenty miles, and the next day we crossed that barren prairie where not a spear of grass was to be seen, reaching the big bend of the Sheyenne River on the third day of July, crossing that river and making our camp in a beautiful valley, where we remained until a detachment could be sent to Fort Abercrombie, sixty miles northeast on Red River, to get any news from General Pope and also the mail for our command.

General Sibley's adjutant general came to me and said the general wanted to see me immediately. On going to his headquarters, I was asked to take command of one hundred or more men he would detail to go to Fort Abercrombie and return, giving three days for the trip, and [he] informed me that

Company E of the Sixth Minnesota Regiment of Volunteer Infantry, 18–21 (St. Paul, 1899), written by Alfred J. Hill in 1869; "Narrative of the Sixth Regiment" by Charles W. Johnson, of Company D, "Narrative of the Seventh Regiment" by James T. Ramer, of Company B, "Narrative of the Tenth Regiment" by General James H. Baker, "Narrative of the First Regiment of Mounted Rangers" by Eugene M. Wilson, of Company A, in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars,* 1: 315, 352–355, 457–461, 520–523.

he considered it a dangerous duty and would give me five hundred men if I wished them. I replied that if he would furnish me with sixty men from my own company, forty from any other company he might select, and fifty half-breed scouts under command of Captain Dooley, I would undertake the service. As the days were hot, he thought I had better start by twelve that night. I told him to make out his orders and detail, and I would be ready. I returned to my company, stated my orders to the captain, called the men into line, and asked if sixty of them would volunteer to go with me or should I make a detail. Every man offered to go.

At midnight we were in our saddles ready for the start. The scouts told us we would find water halfway, but I told them we would halt the column as we crossed the river so that every one could fill his canteen, as we were to pass through an enemy's country and might get delayed before getting halfway and had better be prepared for it now. The night was warm and clear, the moon just rising, and we made good progress, and at daylight we were twenty miles from our camp. Before leaving, General Sibley's orders were read to us to keep scouts out in front and in [the] rear and on both flanks, and to kill no game coming or going. Two sutlers' wagons, drawn by ten mules each, accompanied us, to be loaded with supplies at the fort. When daylight came, a dense fog settled down upon us, which detained us over two hours. When it lifted, we saw within close gunshot of us six fine elk standing and looking directly at us. It was a severe test to the self-restraint and military discipline of our men and the authority of orders given by the commanding general, all of which they were powerfully tempted to disregard. Some of them looked at me as if to ask if I wanted elk for dinner. I simply shook my head and not a gun was fired, but how the spirit and appetite did rebel against the orders!

The sun soon came out bright, and we were soon on our way again. It became very hot, but our scouts were all out watching and looking for any fresh signs of Indians. Coming in

sight of some scattering timber just as we were entering a valley from the upland, where we were told water would be found, a herd of buffaloes that had been started up by the scouts came rushing down a ravine near the sutlers' wagons, which were in advance of us. The sutlers, who had probably not heard the orders read or did not think themselves under strict military discipline like the soldiers, fired into them, killing one and breaking the leg of another. And before we fairly knew what was up or could interfere, many of the men were in the chase of them. Corporal Dudley of my company, in his excitement after a large wounded bull that had turned on his enemies, in using his revolver shot his own horse in the top of the head and he fell as if dead. Seeing the danger of the fallen corporal from the enraged animal and being near at hand, to save his life I shot the buffalo in the head with my Sharp's carbine. The supposed dead horse recovered and proved to have received only a scalp wound, and he rode that same horse until mustered out.

This episode and dressing the game detained us another hour, and when we reached the stream where we expected water, there was none there and none short of Wolfe Creek, twenty-five miles further on. The sun was very hot, and [the] men and horses [were] thirsty. The scouts reported finding a fresh Indian trail where they had camped the day before, and Captain Dooley of the scouts became very uneasy in view of the situation. About noon we crossed another Indian trail, both of which led north in the direction of the Canadian line. Later we learned that these Indians had started out for Minnesota to renew their depredations on the settlers of that state, but on reaching Lake Traverse, a few miles north of Big Stone Lake, on the approach of General Sibley's expedition, they returned to near the Canadian line, where all the hostile Indians of Minnesota were then assembled, so that, if attacked by our forces and overpowered, they could take refuge in Canadian territory, where our forces would not be permitted to follow

them. They also would obtain reinforcements from the several tribes located there. By making this trail north and then moving to the northwest by way of Devil's Lake to the Missouri River, they thought to deceive General Sibley with the belief that they had escaped into Canada; and by the time he found out his mistake in following them, as he supposed, to the border, the season would be too late for him to pursue them further. But their strategy did not succeed, as Sibley learned of their intentions and overtook them before reaching the Missouri.

After we struck this trail we moved cautiously and about four o'clock reached Goose Creek Valley, and within another hour found abundance of water to relieve the sufferings of the men and animals, some of whom had parched and swollen tongues from thirst.

Major Camp, in command of Fort Abercrombie, had been notified of our coming, and, as soon as he caught sight of us approaching, started at once with fifty cavalrymen to meet us and escort us to the fort, where we were well provided for after our sixty miles' ride during the extreme heat and thirst to celebrate the Fourth of July.

We had brought with us a six-mule wagon for the purpose of taking back the mail received for the men of our expedition, which the major showed us all ready to be loaded. I informed him my orders were to stay one day at the fort and return the next. So on the fifth we rested. The horse doctor of the post informed me that five of our horses were unfit to return, and the post surgeon told me that three of our men would not be able to go back with us.

On the morning of the sixth everything was ready for us to start on our return at two o'clock in the morning. Major Camp with one hundred men was to return with us. Without any incident of note we reached our camp the next evening just at dark, delivered the large mail at headquarters, made a

verbal report—not including our buffalo hunt—and [I] received the thanks of the general for the success of my service.[1]

The next morning the expedition again took up its line of march up the valley of the Sheyenne River, until the seventeenth, when the general learned of the movement of the Indians from the border of Canada southwest towards the Missouri River, this move being confirmed on the twentieth of July by three hundred half-breed Chippewas visiting our camp, who were out on their summer hunt to get their winter's supply of buffalo meat and skins for clothing.

This information necessitated a change in our plans. About fifty miles south of Devil's Lake General Sibley established a camp, had it fortified, and left there a large portion of his wagon train, all sick or broken-down men and animals, with a sufficient guard and twenty days' rations, and in light marching order took with him eighteen hundred infantry, six hundred cavalry, one hundred pioneers, one hundred scouts, [and] two batteries of artillery, and started on a rapid march to intercept the Indians before they reached the Missouri River. On the twenty-second we crossed the James River fifty miles west. On the twenty-fourth the scouts reported hostile Indians in large numbers near Big Mound, about sixty miles north of the Missouri River, and two celebrated chiefs, Red Plume and Standing Buffalo, with them.

[1] Mr. Daniels in his *Journal* says that a detachment under the command of Colonel Averill, of which he was a member, was dispatched for supplies to Fort Abercrombie from the camp near Lakes Big Stone and Traverse on June 30, and that it left the fort on July 6, rejoining the main column on the Sheyenne River on the 9th (p. 6). The other authorities cited in note 1, page 475, agree substantially with Daniels. Neither they nor Daniels make any mention of the sending of another detachment to Fort Abercrombie from the camp on the Sheyenne, which, according to Captain Potter, must have set out while Colonel Averill's command was still at the fort. The two detachments left Fort Abercrombie on the same day (July 6), that under the command of Captain Potter arriving at the camp two days in advance of the other. Captain Potter says nothing of Averill's expedition.

Positive orders had been issued that there must be no killing of game, but Lieutenant Freeman of my regiment and some of his friends found the temptation too great and, while outside our lines hunting buffalo, were ambushed, and he and three others killed. A sergeant escaped with two arrows in his body and his horse mortally wounded and reported to the general.[1] In a short time the scouts reported that the main body of the Indians were within five miles of us. We went into camp near the east bank of a large lake just west of the Big Mound. Earthworks were thrown up while the Reverends Riggs and Williamson, missionaries to the Indians, were sent to treat with them. Large bodies of Indians appearing in plain sight near the top of Big Mound, Dr. Weiser, surgeon of our regiment, who had been with the Indians several years, mounted his horse and rode to where these painted warriors were. He greeted and shook hands with many he knew and returned. As he rode down our lines Colonel McPhail said to him, "Doctor, I expected to see you killed while you were up there." He replied, "They will not kill a medicine man. They are my best friends." He further said that there would be no fight that day as the Indians said they would surrender.

Nine companies of our men had now been sitting for three hours on horses drawn up in the hot sun in the line of battle waiting for orders. Riggs and Williamson returned, bringing with them two white boys the Indians had taken in Minnesota the year before, and a request for General Sibley to meet them in council. Dr. Weiser was so confident of the peaceful intentions of the Indians that he again mounted his horse to visit them. He had no authority to do this, and our colonel and others tried to dissuade him, reminding him of their treachery and the possibility of his losing his scalp. But he would not

[1] Among those accompanying Lieutenant Freeman on his hunting excursion was George A. Brackett, whose report of their encounter with the Indians and of the death of Freeman appeared in the *St. Paul Daily Press*, August 13, 1863. He later wrote a narrative describing these experiences, which was published under the title *A Winter Evening's Tale* (New York, 1880. 31 p.).

listen to advice and off he went up the hill in full uniform and on a gallop; but before he reached them he was pierced with many balls and fell dead from his horse, which turned to come back, but also fell dead. His orderly, who was with him, returned unharmed. This started the battle immediately. With their war whoops and yells the Indians spread out and advanced, some on horses, others on foot. Colonel McPhail immediately ordered our nine companies of cavalry forward. Colonel Crooks, with the Sixth Minnesota Infantry, on the double quick, made for the left flank of the Indians to cut them off from their camp. Both batteries rapidly followed the infantry and cavalry. The Indians were seen on the run and we after them. On reaching the top of the hill, we found ourselves in the midst of a heavy thunderstorm in addition to the fight. As our regiment charged down the opposite side of Big Mound, with Indians firing at us from front and right flank, Private Murphy and his horse at my left fell dead. As Colonel McPhail, with his sword drawn, was urging and directing our men to cut these Indians we were fighting off from their main body on our right, his sword fell from his hand; [at the same time] my horse fell to the ground but was soon on his feet again, staggered for a moment, and then went forward in the charge as if nothing had occurred, although I thought he was shot. But afterwards, when Murphy's body was found and examined, it was found that lightning had killed him and his horse, disarmed the colonel, and knocked down my horse. But on we went as fast as our horses could take us until we came to their camp, which we found abandoned, leaving several tons of buffalo meat and other heavy materials that in their hasty flight they could not take with them. Colonel Crooks's infantry and the batteries soon came up, the camp and materials [were] set on fire, and we followed their trail leading directly towards the Missouri River, soon overhauling them. It now became a running fight for the protection and safety of their families as well as themselves. One of Sibley's aides came to us with orders to return to headquarters, but our colonel did

not understand it to return immediately, and we all pushed on after the Indians. They turned upon us again in their desperation and were quickly put to flight, and in the last five miles of the running fight, before darkness overtook us, they were forced to abandon nearly everything they had taken the summer previous from the Minnesota settlers, as well as the valuable furs and buffalo robes they had gotten since being driven from their reservations the previous fall. Many of our soldiers found mink, otter, and beaver skins, and it was reported that a sutler had a wagon-load of these furs when he got back to St. Paul.

As it was getting dark another aide came up with an order for us to return to headquarters immediately. We were now eighteen miles from there and consequently, after the severe service and excitement of the day, we had a long and very trying march back that night, arriving at headquarters just at daylight, thoroughly worn out and feeling as if Sibley ought to have brought his headquarters to us with his whole force and camped with us near the Indians, rendering it possible for us to capture them before reaching the Missouri. The next day we laid over to bury our dead, two officers and seven men. The dead Indians numbered over one hundred.

When we overtook them again, they were within twenty miles of the Missouri River, where they gave us battle again with increased numbers at a place called Stony Lake. The whole country in our front seemed filled with Indians on ponies. We halted, and in a few moments our artillery were sending shells bursting among them, soon putting them to flight again, as they can not stand before the fire of artillery and the bursting of shells beyond the reach of any fire from them. Consequently this fight did not last more than thirty minutes, and, occurring in the morning, by nine o'clock we reached a point where we could look over the broad valley of the upper Missouri River. It was a very beautiful day, the sun shining bright and clear, so that we could quite distinctly see on the opposite high ground across the river, fifteen miles away, bright flashes of light reflected to us, which at first were thought to be the glimmer

of the bright sabers of General Sully's command, which it had been planned to send up the south side of the Missouri as a part of the campaign to capture those Indians. But Sibley's scouts told him that those flashes of light were from small oval looking-glasses the Indian warriors were proud of wearing, both for ornament and to signal with, and could be seen favorably for twenty-five miles; and the signals we saw were from Indians who had crossed the river and were sending a defiant challenge for us to follow them to the other side if we dared. General Sibley had relied upon capturing the families of the Indians before they could cross the river, and believed that then the Indians would come and surrender. But his half-breed scouts told him that the Indians would quickly make rafts of willows overlaid with buffalo skins and take their women and children over and escape capture. Seeing a large body of Indians making for the timber which skirted the river, we marched rapidly to reach them. Just as we were entering the river bottom, the scouts brought in several Teton Sioux they had just captured, who belonged on the other side of the river, and who said that a large body of their tribe had come to assist their brothers in crossing the river, and that they had seen nothing of General Sully's white soldiers.

When we reached the river near the mouth of Apple Creek, five miles below the present city of Bismarck, the capital of North Dakota, the Indians had all passed into the timber out of our sight. The pioneers were ordered to cut a road as soon as possible for the artillery, which was hurried to the bank of the river. The Indians and their families could now be seen on the opposite side, and a few shells from the cannon quickly drove them from our sight again. Convinced that the families of the Indians had escaped him, General Sibley sent his favorite aide, Lieutenant Beaver, to order the artillery to return, but, before reaching them, he and his orderly were killed by Indians secreted in the timber. A second aide reached the battery and they returned, and we all went into camp about dark on a level elevation or mound, with Apple Creek on one

side, lined with a thick growth of willow brush, and a heavy body of timber on another side, the mound from ten to twenty feet higher than the bottom which the creek willows grew on, with a steep bank, and covering several acres, with good grass for our animals. Strong earthworks were thrown up and a heavy guard placed.

Just at daybreak several shots were fired from the timber into our camp, four of which passed through our company officers' tent, too high to do damage, and my horse was hit in one leg, disabling him for service for several weeks. A small party of Indians also made their appearance from the brush along Apple Creek, who tried to stampede our horses, but a few shells from our battery into the timber and brush stopped all that trouble.

After the Indians had escaped us by crossing the river, and learning nothing of the whereabouts of Sully's army, Sibley sent his Indian scouts down the river to learn something about them, if possible. They returned the second day with the information that Sully's supply boats were grounded on a sandbar one hundred miles below. While the scouts were out on this duty, we buried Lieutenant Beaver and his orderly with military honors. Beaver was a young man of English birth, who had seen much experience in Africa hunting large game, and, with two other young Englishmen, had come to St. Paul for the purpose of spending one season hunting large game on the plains and in the mountains of this country, and had brought their fine hunting horses with them. But finding it would not be advisable or safe to carry out their plans while the Indians were at war with us, [they] offered their services to General Sibley for his expedition. They were given lieutenants' commissions and served on his staff as volunteer aides without pay. They were well educated and, it was understood, belonged to high-bred families. As Lieutenant Beaver was the oldest of the three, he claimed the honor of carrying dispatches in cases of the greatest danger; and thus after three months' faithful and courageous service, [he] had laid down

his life on the banks of the upper Missouri River, at the hands of treacherous Indians, five hundred miles west of civilization at that day. His two friends sadly and keenly felt his loss and resolved to avenge his death by continuing to fight the Indians, and afterwards both of them lost their lives on our frontier before the Indian war closed.

On the third day, coöperation in the campaign with General Sully having proved a failure, General Sibley ordered a return to Fort Snelling. It took us four days to reach Atchison, where we had left our supplies and a part of our force. On reaching there, we learned that our scouts, who had been left at Camp Atchison during our absence, had made an important capture in the person of a son of Little Crow, the malignant Sioux chief mainly responsible for bringing on this Indian war. His influence was so great that he persuaded the Indians to believe they could drive all of the settlers out of the country west of the Mississippi River before snowfall if they would follow him. Instead, within that time they found themselves, after hard fighting, driven away from their reservations and homes out of the state into the bleak plains of Dakota, where they suffered and many of them starved the next winter as the result of their following Little Crow into a war with the whites. Then Little Crow's followers turned against him, saying he had deceived them and he could lead them no longer nor live among them, and [it] would be safer [for him] to go and live in the white man's country than to stay among them. So he left them and took his son and returned to Minnesota, where he was seen by a settler who knew him, and was shot and killed about the first of July. His son escaped and fled into Dakota again, where he was captured by our scouts near Devil's Lake about the last of July while in search of his mother's family, who had been driven with the other Indians across the Missouri River.[1] The son was taken to General

[1] The death of Little Crow took place near Hutchinson. A letter from that place under date of July 6, 1863, and signed J. W. M., describing the killing in detail, appeared in the *St. Paul Daily Press,*

Pope's headquarters at Fort Snelling, where valuable information was obtained from him, after which he was taken to Rock Island and imprisoned with the other Indians who had been condemned by the court-martial to be executed but [were] reprieved by the president, until they were all liberated and taken up the Missouri River and turned loose in Montana; and in June, 1876, the most of them were in the battle of Little Big Horn River, aiding in the massacre of the gallant Custer and his five companies of cavalry. It was believed then and [is] still believed by the old settlers in Minnesota that if those Indians, condemned to death by court-martial, had all been executed, the battle and massacre on the Little Big Horn would never have occurred, as their bitter enmity and spirit of revenge and influence would not have been brought to bear in causing it nor their assistance in aiding it.

The day before we reached Camp Atchison an organization of men numbering one hundred, well mounted and well armed with two pieces of artillery under command of a Captain Fisk, camped there over night on their way to the new gold fields just discovered in Montana. Major Atchison in command of the camp and other officers tried to dissuade them from going on, as they would surely be attacked by the Indians and might all lose their lives. But they felt confident that there would be no trouble, as they were well mounted and armed and could protect themselves and their train of supplies and outfits until they reached Fort Benton at the great north bend of the Missouri River, where there was a small garrison of United States troops. So they moved on. However, when [they were] about fifty miles from Camp Atchison, early one morning the Indians attacked them before they had broken camp, killing four of them at their first fire, but with their artillery they kept

July 10, 1863. The story of the capture of Little Crow's son is related in a dispatch from Major Cook to Colonel Miller, dated August 2, 1863, which appeared in the *Press* of August 13, 1863. Colonel Miller included in his report the son's account of his father's death. See also August 6 and 15 issues of the *Press* for further details.

the Indians off all day and at night sent two of their best men and horses with a most urgent dispatch back to Camp Atchison for assistance. These couriers reached the camp just at daybreak, and General Sibley, who had reached there with our army only the day before, soon had a force of four hundred men and one battery on the way for their relief, which reached them at twelve o'clock at night. The next morning about two hundred Indians came in sight to reconnoitre and possibly make another attack. Before they fairly knew what was up, our four hundred mounted troops were after them and the battery was pouring shells among them. This quickly sent them scattering over the plains as fast as their ponies could carry them out of the reach of their morning surprise and hot reception. Our cavalry soon returned from the scattered chase and reported five Indians killed by the shells fired. Thus delivered, Fisk and his men were willing to return with us, and acknowledged that but for the relief so promptly given them they would have all been slaughtered. Fisk and his men were soon leading the way back to our camp, and this expedition of fifty miles and back for their deliverance was accomplished within less than forty hours without the loss of a man.[1]

The next morning Camp Atchison was broken up. General Sibley with the infantry and one battery marched by way of the Sheyenne River and Fort Abercrombie; and Colonel McPhail with six companies of cavalry and the other battery

[1] None of the accounts of the Sibley expedition cited in note 1, page 475, makes any mention of the dispatching of a detachment in answer to a call from Captain Fisk for assistance. This detachment, according to Captain Potter, was sent out on the day following the return of the main body of Sibley's command to Camp Atchison. Mr. Daniels, however, in the entry for that day, August 11, in his *Journal*, notes that "Capt. Fiske's expedition . . . passed here [Camp Atchison] while we were out towards the Missouri," which does not agree with Captain Potter's statement that Fisk and his party were encamped near Camp Atchison on August 9. Captain Fisk also in his report to Adjutant General Thomas, dated St. Paul, Minnesota, January 28, 1864, entitled *Expedition of Captain Fisk to the Rocky Mountains* (38 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 9, no. 45—serial

took an easterly route running south of Big Stone Lake to Fort Ridgely. No signs of Indians anywhere appeared.

I had with my company of cavalry when it first started out a young man by the name of Moore. He was six feet two inches in height. His home was in Blue Earth Valley south of my home in Garden City. He was with us in our first fight at Big Mound, during which three Indians hid in a buffalo wallow on a hill at our right, from which they were firing down on us. Our colonel gave orders to Captain Austin to deploy to the right under protection of the hill and cut them off if possible and drive them from their position. Within two minutes we were in their rear. They fired at us and then ran to try to escape. Two of them were killed, and the other one threw down his gun and offered to surrender, but some of the men fired at him and wounded him. He instantly turned and ran for his gun and before any one could shoot him, he fired, the ball striking Andrew Moore in the bowels, who at once knew from the nature of his wound that he could not recover. We carried him in an ambulance with us to the Missouri River, but, being on the move and with no proper treatment, he died on the twenty-fifth. We buried him with military honors on the bank of a very beautiful lake, marked his grave by a large mound of stones piled over it, and gave the lake the name of Moore's Lake. The most pathetic feature of the case was that, while he knew he could not live, he hoped and longed to be able to reach his home and look his wife and two children once more in the face before he died. Ten years after that this valley was well

1189), says that he camped near Camp Atchison July 21, that the officers at the camp expressed fears for the safety of his party on account of the Indians, but that he resumed his journey on July 23. He, too, makes no mention of having trouble or of sending back for assistance (p. 6). Writing to General Thomas from Camp Grant, near Head of Mouse River, July 31, 1863, he says: "We are almost through the hostile Sioux country, and I think there is now little to apprehend for the expedition (p. 9)." By August 11 the Fisk party was well out toward the Dakota-Montana line, only a short distance south of the international boundary (p. 15).

settled and a railroad ran along the bank of this lake, which up to that time had been known as Moore's Lake.

Colonel McPhail was a Minnesota farmer and knew but little of military tactics or discipline, and, knowing he would meet no hostile Indians, gave us an easy time on our home march. Buffaloes were plenty, and hunting parties were sent out every day, bringing in an abundance of fresh meat for the entire command soon after we reached Minnesota. We arrived at Fort Ridgely about the tenth of September. During our absence General Pope had two lines of stockades constructed, reaching from the north line of Iowa to the border of Canada. They were from ten to twenty miles apart, depending upon convenience to food and water, and constructed of prairie sod, with stables for horses as well as accommodations for men. The first line of stockades ran on a parallel with New Ulm, the other from ten to twenty miles west and parallel with it. A small force of cavalry was stationed at each of these stockades to coöperate in capturing or killing any bands of Indians that might come within these lines, practically covering the entire settled portion of the state. This proved of great benefit, as the Indians soon learned that it would be capture or death for them to venture within range of these lines to devastate settlements. As our regiment by the terms and purposes of its enlistment could not be sent into service in the war with the South, and the Indian war being now practically over, after two months we were ordered to Fort Snelling to be mustered out.

It will be noticed that this Indian war on our northwest border, occurring during the intense interest, anxiety, and activity of our great Civil War, was of considerable magnitude and importance and fairly successful, but [was] not noticed by the country at large, as it would otherwise have been, had not the almost entire attention of the people been absorbed in the changing scenes of the far greater and more important wants and interests of the war of the greater rebellion in the South.

After we were mustered out, many of the young and unmarried men enlisted in other regiments and went south. But I went home to my family in Garden City and spent the winter with them. In the spring war parties of hostile Indians again began to enter our lines and commit depredations and murders. A party of fifteen attacked a small settlement at Willow Creek, twelve miles southwest of Garden City, just at night, and killed several families and stole a number of horses. I learned of this at ten o'clock the same night, and immediately saddled my horse (my old war horse of the previous service, that had once been knocked down by lightning and once wounded in one leg) and started for the nearest stockade, twenty miles west, to notify the garrison. On the way I passed through Madelia and gave them information and warning, and hastened on to the stockade six miles farther west and gave the information there. They immediately dispatched a courier to the stockade on the line twenty miles west of them. They furnished me with a fresh horse, with which I rode twelve miles north to the next stockade, where my sudden and rapid coming in the night stampeded some of their horses. They at once sent out twenty-five men southwest to try to find the trail of the Indians. After breakfast I returned to where I changed horses, intending to return home by way of Willow Creek, but upon reaching the stockade and finding they had sent out all their force to the northwest and had not notified the stockade ten miles southwest of them, I mounted my own horse again and rode to the next stockade south and gave them also the first information of this Indian raid. Then I decided to go on south to still another stockade and from there return home by way of Willow Creek and see for myself how many had been killed there. When I reached my last stockade, they had just received the news and were in their saddles ready for a start. I gave them all the information I had and told them where I had been and what directions had been taken by the parties from the other stockades.

It was now ten o'clock in the morning and I had ridden full sixty-five miles and notified four stockades in twelve hours, and felt the need of a little rest. I remained there until after dinner and then started for Garden City, forty miles away, by the way of Willow Creek, where I found five persons had been killed by the Indians and ten horses stolen and taken off. I reached home at nine o'clock at night, having been gone about twenty-three hours, and had ridden over one hundred miles without sleep.

The result was that the party from the second stockade I notified struck the trail of those Indians about ten o'clock that morning and overtook them near a lake with high bluffs, where the Indians secreted themselves in the thick bush of the bluff, but the troops recovered all the stolen horses, the Indians escaping from them in the night. The next day another party of soldiers took up their trail and followed them until the entire band was killed or captured, and that ended any further raids into that part of the state during the spring and summer of 1864. After this last massacre, such was the animosity against the Indians that one of them could not pass through the state safely, even with the stars and stripes wound around him.[1]

Major Brackett, who had taken an active part in this Indian war, obtained authority from the government to raise a battalion of cavalry and mount them on Canadian ponies for frontier service. He asked me to raise one of the companies, but my wife raised such strenuous objections that I thought best to decline. I then sold my horse, that had done me such fine service in the Sibley campaign, to M. T. Fall of Garden City, who was commissioned as first lieutenant in Brackett's Battalion, and it was used for two years more in the same service of hunting and fighting Indians.

Soon after this the government called upon Minnesota to raise another regiment of infantry for the Civil War, and

[1] Compare with accounts of raids in Blue Earth County as reported to the *St. Paul Daily Press,* August 14–31, 1864.

Governor Miller sent me a recruiting commission to raise one company for that regiment in the Blue Earth Valley, of which I could have the command, if successful, and I desired it. I soon had the company raised, a large number of whom had seen service already in the Indian war and some in the Civil War. My wife still believed I had done my part in the war and ought now to stay at home with my family. I told her that the war would be over in less than a year and that I would like to have a hand in it at the close.

When the company gathered at Mankato to choose their officers and start for Fort Snelling, I made the statement to them that, though I had recruited the company and was by right entitled to the command, yet as my wife objected on account of our three small children (one of them less than six days old and my wife still confined to her bed), I wished them to elect their company officers without any reference to me or my previous rights. Some short speeches were made, in which they stated that I had been their choice for captain from the outstart and would be unanimously elected, and that they would not be satisfied if I did not accept and go with them as their captain. They therefore elected me by a unanimous rising vote as captain, leaving the choice of the other company officers to be made after we reached Fort Snelling.

Wagons were provided as soon as possible, and we started for there, a distance of seventy miles, taking two days, and were mustered in as Company C of the Eleventh Regiment of Minnesota Infantry. After we were mustered in I called on the governor and stated to him the situation of things at home. He told me he would issue me my commission as captain and get me a furlough to go home to my family until the regiment was ready to leave for the South, and if my wife did not get well enough for me to leave home by that time, he would have my furlough extended for me. I at once returned home and found my wife had become reconciled to my leaving. During the week I was there I arranged our affairs so that my family would be comfortably provided for during a year

at least, and got back to Fort Snelling just in time to go south with the regiment.

We marched to St. Paul, where we boarded a river steamer with two large barges lashed, one to each side, furnishing comfortable quarters for our one thousand men. When we left, our regimental band played "The Girl I Left Behind Me," until we were out of sight of the city.

We were taken to La Crosse, Wisconsin, the nearest point to a railroad, and the next day loaded into freight cars for Chicago, where we camped for two days in one of the city parks before we could get transportation for Louisville, Kentucky. At Indianapolis we were transferred to the airy upper decks of two other freight trains filled with fighting humanity below, detaining us one more day before we could get off for Jeffersonville opposite Louisville, where we camped for one night, and the next day crossed the river by ferry. Here we were detained three days until we could get proper transportation to go farther, as our officers were determined to have something better than the tops of old freight cars in riding through an enemy's country. We very quickly were made to feel the difference between being among friends or enemies in our own country. All the way from St. Paul to Jeffersonville we were welcomed with hearty cheers and demonstrations of kindness and loyalty. But as soon as we crossed the Ohio River into Kentucky, not only did all such demonstrations cease, but we were at once looked upon with frowns and scowls and dark, vicious, lowering countenances and ugly leers from both men and women, showing us as offensively as they dared that they had no use for Union soldiers except to insult and destroy them if they could.

After crossing the ferry, we were marched into the city into one of their finest streets, where the wealth and aristocracy of the city had their finest residences, and of course constituting the most rebel element of the population, and halted there while our officers were arranging for transportation to Nashville, Tennessee. During this halt it commenced to rain heavily.

After we were thoroughly drenched, Lieutenant Colonel Ball, who had seen hard service in the First Minnesota Infantry, sent an order for us to take shelter from the rain by taking possession of the porches of the residences on both sides of the street. This gave the disloyal much offence, and in many instances our men were ordered off the porches by the people living in the houses; but our men obeyed no such orders and maintained their protected positions.

After remaining here five hours, the order came to fall in, [as] we supposed to go back and take a train for Nashville. Instead we were marched to a large tobacco warehouse, which was nearly empty. The owners had been asked permission for the regiment to occupy it for shelter until transportation was found, but refused. Lieutenant Colonel Ball ordered the regiment to follow him. The owners guarding the locked doors were instantly thrust aside and the doors broken open, and we marched in, and had good quarters and [were] well provided for during the remainder of our stay.

Up to this time our regiment was in command of Lieutenant Colonel Ball. Colonel James B. Gilfillan had not yet reached us. He was captain in one of the Minnesota regiments then in New Orleans, and had been notified of his promotion and ordered to meet us either at Louisville or Nashville. A telegram had been received from him that he was on the way by boat and would reach Louisville that evening at eight o'clock. As he was one of the early pioneer settlers of Minnesota, the officers of the regiment decided to give him a loyal western pioneer reception on his arrival and escort him to the United States Hotel, where Lieutenant Colonel Ball had secured the largest parlor for the occasion. As nearly all of the officers had served in the Indian war, it was decided to conduct the reception in Indian style. All of the officers of the regiment were to sit on the floor in a circle with their feet curled under them, and when the colonel was brought into this circle and introduced as our great war chief, all were to utter simultaneously the Indian "Huh!" in a sort of gutteral grunt as a

formal sign of recognition and official welcome. When in this position another telegram came, stating that he would meet the regiment at Nashville, which changed our plans, and Lieutenant Colonel Ball made the war speech for the colonel to his braves to the effect that if his warriors would follow him, the great war would be closed before many moons. After his speech the lieutenant colonel was handed a large Sioux chief's pipe that one of our men had brought with him, made from the famous red pipestone from the quarries of Minnesota, to smoke the pipe of peace with all his under chiefs. At the close of these ceremonies refreshments were served, consisting of some of the best coffee and some of the hardest of hardtack, of which all partook. Then the officers started a Sioux war chant, which brought us all to our feet, and all took part in a war dance, which closed the Indian exercises of the evening. This was probably the only reception of this kind given to a military officer in and during the Civil War by his comrades.

The day after the reception the regiment was called into line and marched through the main streets of the city to a large open field, where we had our first regimental drill. Every company was reported full, and not a sick man in the regiment. So many of our men had been in the military service before that our officers found an easy and pleasant task in this first day's drill of a new regiment; and it made a fine appearance, as in 1864 it was a rare thing to see an infantry regiment with one thousand men in it after so much hard service and severe fighting had been done. Old soldiers in the city, who had served three years and who saw us marching, inquired what brigade that was going to the front newly uniformed. Many questions were asked and remarks made about this Minnesota brigade, for we were not taken for raw troops.

At noon the day following our regimental drill we had orders to go to Nashville by way of Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and our cars and accommodations were the best we had after leaving La Crosse. We reached Bowling Green just at dark and were detained there until next morning, as

guerrillas had just burned a freight train on the track. That night our men were furnished ammunition, and next morning our two trains moved out cautiously, passing the wrecked train, where an immense amount of army stores had been destroyed or carried away. At several places we could see where trains had previously been destroyed. At the railroad tunnel thirty miles north of Nashville the guerrilla, General Morgan, had captured a passenger train, robbed the passengers, and then run the train into the tunnel and set it on fire, which destroyed the use of the tunnel for several months, during which time passengers and freight had to be transferred over the hills above and beyond the tunnel by six-horse mule teams, but the damage was repaired when we passed over the road.

On reaching Nashville just as it was gettting dark, we were marched about three miles, and went into camp near Fort Negley and the Chattanooga railroad; and for ten days large details were made from our regiment to guard freight trains to Chattanooga, the guards riding on top of the loaded cars, making a hard and very exposed and dangerous duty for us in a country infested with enemies and bands of guerrillas, worse to fight than even the wily and treacherous Indians. Every company in the regiment had the duty of making one or more of these important, but very risky journeys within those ten days. Then orders were given to fall in and march to the Louisville and Nashville depot, thinking we were to be sent to Sherman's army; but to our great disappointment we were detailed by companies to different points along the railroad to guard it from Nashville north to the Kentucky line, a distance of fifty miles, and build blockhouses five miles apart. Our headquarters were at Gallatin, twenty-five miles north of Nashville, a town of about four thousand population.

A negro regiment had preceded us in this city and had built stockades of poles and split logs set upright, affording rather poor shelter. At Richland station, five miles south of the Kentucky border, where my company was stationed, I at once built ten small log houses for ten men each, making comfortable

quarters for my company. Patrols of six men each were sent twice a day to meet similar patrols from stations north and south of us, and each company made daily reports to headquarters.

The country near my station was well settled, and several large plantations were in sight, most of them abandoned by their owners, and the youngest and ablest of the men slaves had enlisted in the Union army, while their owners, all rebels, had gone into the southern army. The non-slaveholding population was mostly Union and loyal and had largely entered the Union ranks, and in this way they were nearly equally divided between the two armies, creating deadly animosity between neighbors and former friends. We were told that during the six weeks of their stay the colored regiment on guard before us had lost about one third of their number by guerrillas or rebel stay-at-homes picking them off, and the government found it almost sure death for them to use them for railroad guards and so sent them to the front, where they generally made good and useful soldiers.

In sight of our camp lived a family consisting of man, wife, three sons, and one daughter. They had a small plantation and ten slaves. The father was a pronounced Union man and offered himself to our army, but he was refused on account of his age. His three sons enlisted in the Confederate army and the girl [was] taken for service in a hospital. The mother claimed to be neutral. The two youngest boys were supposed to be killed, and the girl came home. The oldest boy was made captain of a band of guerrillas who operated in destroying railroads in rear of Sherman's army and destroying Union families and soldiers wherever they found them. They were known as Harper's guerrillas and had operated in conjunction with another band of outlaws known as McKay's guerrillas, both operating along the line of the road we were guarding. McKay with several others had been surrounded in a log house near Gallatin. They refused to surrender, and the house was set on fire and they all perished. The rest of the McKay gang

joined Harper, giving him one hundred fifty men, and for two months before the battle of Nashville they committed some depredations nearly every day. But as Harper's old father and mother and sister lived near our camp, he was careful not to kill our patrols or any of our regiment, as we kept to the railroad and were not sent out to hunt guerrillas.

On Sunday two men from the station five miles south of me left their camp without leave, taking their guns with them, and went to a church two miles away from the railroad. Soon some of these guerrillas rode up to the church and demanded these men to come out and surrender, and after they had given up their guns, [they] were shot down in cold blood and then savagely mutilated worse than the Sioux Indians would have done; [the guerrillas] then told one of the officers of the church to go and tell the officers of these men to come and take care of their horribly mangled bodies. I talked with parties who were at the church at the time, who told me that it caused very little excitement, the preacher going right on with his services and closing them as usual.

Government engineers came to our camps and located a place for us to build strong blockhouses of hewn timbers twelve inches square, octagon forms, large enough to accommodate one hundred men. This work with our other duties kept us very busy until after the battle of Nashville. As soon as it was known that General Hood with his army was on his way to capture Nashville, the bands of guerrillas became more active than ever, with the purpose of destroying all railroad connections between Nashville and the North and by way of the Cumberland River; and for four weeks before the battle there was not a day passed but at some point between Bowling Green and Nashville the railroad or telegraph was cut to hinder supplies and reinforcements reaching General Thomas at Nashville.

At the time of the battle of Franklin, Harper's guerrillas cut the railroad ten miles north of our station, in Kentucky, at a steep upgrade, derailed the two engines drawing a train of

thirty cars heavily loaded with government army stores, uncoupled the cars near the engines, and let the train go down the heavy grade, crashing into a similar train coming up, and then set fire to the wreckage of the two trains, consuming forty-five cars with their contents. On one of these trains were three soldiers in charge of some officers' horses. As soon as the news of the wreck reached Nashville, I was ordered to have fifty men ready to take a train to reach the scene of disaster in one hour. Before we left, we could see the light from the burning cars. We reached the spot about two o'clock a.m., and found, among other things the chivalrous southerners had done, the bodies of the three soldiers, who had first been shot and then their bodies cut up into small pieces to gratify this civilized chivalry. Full one thousand soldiers were soon there as witnesses to this deed of far worse than savage barbarians, and to aid in clearing the road of the wreckage, enabling trains to pass by evening. Within a week five of these guerrilla barbarians were caught and executed, rendering the others still more desperate, who proceeded to drive every Union family in that part of the country from their homes, or killing them. Many sought refuge in our camps and appealed for protection. An old man and his wife eighty years of age, a neighbor and friend of the Harper's, were ordered to leave their home and refused. Then the humane southern guerrillas—chivalry of Kentucky and Tennessee—took his only span of mules and his three cows and killed them in his dooryard in front of his house and told the old man that if he attempted to move the carcasses, they would kill him. Friends in Louisville heard of this and took care of them. A man by the name of Pardue, sixty-five years of age, was driven from his home, his wife and daughters going north, but he came to our camp and proved of great service to us as a guide and scout. He was fearless, and intimately acquainted with the country and people, and led our soldiers to the haunts of the guerrillas and to the destruction of many of them.

Three days before Hood arrived with his army in front of Nashville, a large force of Union troops under command of General Green were making a forced march over the Louisville and Nashville pike, and camped one night six miles west of our station. Foraging parties were sent out in different directions. One of these, composed of sixteen men, was cut off from their main force by Harper's guerrillas and, after surrendering, were all shot in deliberate malice, excepting one, a teamster, who was sent back to headquarters to notify them what had become of his party. That night Harper visited his old father and mother to congratulate them on his complete destruction of the foraging party. Very soon after this incident the booming of cannon could be heard at Nashville and on the river below, where batteries had been planted to block the river against our boats, and we were hoping for orders to take our regiment to the front. Instead of this, two more regiments were sent up to help us guard the railroad, as it was the only railroad running north then open for supplies and reinforcements and of the greatest importance, and General Thomas had given the most peremptory orders to keep it open if it took twenty regiments to do it. The rebels made several attempts to cross the Cumberland River both above and below Nashville in large force to get possession of this road and cut us off from communication with the North, but were defeated every time. And during the battle of Nashville guerrilla bands made the most desperate efforts to destroy the road and telegraph lines, anticipating Hood's defeat of Thomas and thus cutting off Thomas' retreat north by the railroad. Scarcely an hour passed during this time that they did not break the road or telegraph somewhere.

The fate of the battle soon turned the tide, and instead of Thomas having to retreat, Hood lost his army, and whole regiments of Kentucky and Tennessee troops surrendered to our forces, sick of fighting, and were sent north as prisoners of war over the road we were guarding, ragged, frozen, and half starved; and orders were sent to all the guards along the rail-

road to give these thousands of prisoners on the way to Camp Douglas and other prisons, all the hardtack and coffee we could spare; and for three days after the battle our principal work was to feed these poor ragged and starved foes from the piles of boxes of hardtack our men had piled up near the track, besides having pails of hot coffee ready to deal out to them. The conductor of one train of five hundred prisoners had orders to stop at our camp at Richland ten minutes to get refreshments, and during that time our company was transformed into waiters to serve them in their box cars as temporary prisons, with two Union soldiers at each door as guards. Never could a lot of men receive a happier service than was given during those ten minutes. When the train started on, three as hearty cheers as ever men could give went up from those five hundred refreshed soldiers for the kind men in blue who had generously fed them. And such was the treatment afforded these recent foes not only by our men all along the line of the railroad, but by the people all through Indiana and Illinois, wherever these trains of prisoners stopped. After the triumphant battle of Nashville and destruction of Hood's army, our regiment was assigned to the sixteenth corps under General A. J. Smith, and received the credit of being in the battle of Nashville, which was true as far as our desires were concerned, but not true of our position, unless guarding the railroad and fighting off guerrillas can be said to have been in some sense the battle of Nashville.

After that victory all the guerrilla bands except Harper's left off operating in our vicinity, but he continued to make it lively for us all until after Lee's surrender, often cutting the road and telegraph wires, doing more annoyance than real damage.

Everybody felt now that the war would soon be over, and our men were constantly talking about the probability of our soon receiving orders to return to our homes. In February, 1865, nearly all our regiment suffered severely from jaundice in its worst form, from which several died. All of us would

gladly have been in the front of battle rather than endure the siege of that poisonous yellow enemy in our camp, the seeds of which probably never entirely left us. After that came the stunning and almost paralyzing news of Lincoln's assassination and the problem of its effect upon the war, as to whether it would stimulate the South to renewed effort, or result in crushing the rebellion unmercifully, if it attempted to go on.

For a while the guerrillas became more bold and active, but this soon changed to quietude when it was known that Johnston as well as Lee had surrendered. At the arrival of mail at our camp from headquarters, I received a letter from my wife at Garden City, on the back of which was written and signed by the postmaster at Garden City the following statement: "A. J. Jewett, his wife, four-year-old boy, his father, mother, and wife's sister, were all murdered and scalped by Indians this morning. If possible, return home at once." Under this was written, "If you wish to return home, come to headquarters on the first train and I will see that you have a furlough and transportation. (Signed) J. B. Gilfillan, Colonel." I took the first train to Gallatin, but concluded not to return home until I received further news from there as to this murder and its incidents at a time when no hostile Indians were known to be within three hundred miles from that place. This family and mine were intimate friends and consequently I felt a deep interest in the case. In a few days I learned the facts. An Indian half-breed by the name of Campbell had been a friend and interpreter to the whites all through the war of the Sioux and had gone with Brackett's Battalion, which was wintering near Fort Rice on the Missouri River. Lieutenant M. T. Fall of that battalion, from Garden City, to whom I had sold my Indian war horse, was a relative of Mr. Jewett, and Fall was in the habit of sending his surplus money to Jewett for safe-keeping. Campbell knew of this and left the battalion secretly and engaged six desperadoes from among the Sioux to go with him and get this money and divide it among them. They

made the journey of four hundred miles on foot in winter, with three ponies to carry their supplies. They reached Jewett's farm two miles east of Garden City before the snow was all gone, attacked the family just at daylight, murdered them all, cut open the feather beds in search of the money, cooked themselves a breakfast, divided the money, and separated, the six Indians taking the ponies, while Campbell dressed himself in Jewett's best suit of clothes and started on foot for Mankato to go and visit his father's family at Henderson, twenty miles down the river from Mankato. A neighbor of Jewett, who was returning from Mankato, met Campbell and spoke with him, noticing that he was a half-breed and appeared to be in a great hurry. He drove on thinking there was something wrong about the man. When he got to Jewett's place, two other neighbors were there and told him of the murders. Another had gone to Garden City to report it. This man said, "I met one of the Indians who had a hand in this business." He turned his horse around and asked one of the men to go with him and they would overtake and capture him before he reached Mankato. When they reached a hill overlooking the town, the man they were after was in sight, hurrying to reach it. As they came nearer they both noticed that he had on a suit of Jewett's clothes. Drawing their revolvers, they halted him and ordered him to throw up his hands and surrender. They then disarmed him of two revolvers, made him get into the buggy with them, and in less than ten minutes they had him in prison in Mankato before any one in the city had heard of the murder. The courthouse bell was rung, also the church bells, as an alarm and assembly, and in a few minutes nearly every citizen had gathered around the courthouse and jail. Campbell soon realized that his life was short and asked for a Catholic priest, to whom he confessed the whole crime and turned over four hundred dollars of the money, and also told where the other six Indians could be found. After his confession he was told by the officers that they would give him one hour to prepare for death. And at two o'clock that after-

noon, less than ten hours after the murder, the guilty wretch was hanged at the end of a rope thrown over the limb of a tree in the courthouse yard in the presence of the entire population of the city, closing in ignominy the career of one who had been of much service to us during nearly three years of the Indian war in Minnesota. The leader of this band of murderers having been promptly disposed of, the whole country was in excitement and armed and on the warpath to capture or kill the other six Indians before they could reach their homes in Dakota. The soldiers in all the stockades were notified and sent out into the large timber south of Mankato where Campbell had said their hiding-place was discovered. They fired on the small squad of soldiers that had found them, killing one and wounding another and then managed to escape, and were not heard of again for ten days. But the search and pursuit was kept up so persistently and extensively that they were all killed before reaching Dakota.[1]

On examination of the bodies of Jewett's family, it was found that his four-year-old boy, who had been struck on the head by an Indian war club and [was] supposed to be dead, was still alive, and the doctors succeeded in restoring him. Jewett's relatives came on from Boston and settled up the estate and took the boy home with them and educated him, and the last I knew of him [he] was a prominent lawyer in Boston, with a distinguishing mark no other one of them carried—a large bump on the top of his head made by an Indian war club.

The people were so wrought up by this murder that the county commissioners of Blue Earth County voted one thousand dollars with which to buy bloodhounds from the South to run down the small bands of outlaw Indians who continued to infest the country to steal and rob and murder the people. I received a letter from the county clerk inquiring if they could be gotten in Tennessee where we were, and I informed [him]

[1] Compare with the accounts given in the *St. Paul Daily Press,* May 5 and 6, 1865, and in Buck, *Indian Outbreaks,* 246–249.

that there were two men in Sumner County, Tennessee, who made a business of raising bloodhounds for sale. He soon wrote me again, informing me that the commissioners had appointed a Garden City man by the name of E. P. Evans to go and see me and asked me to aid him in his business. In a few days Evans came with the money in his pocket, and we soon bought six fine, full-blooded hounds for him to take back with him. To do this was a great deal of an undertaking at that time, and to accomplish it successfully he had brought a letter from the governor to Gilfillan, the colonel of our regiment, asking him to detail two men from the regiment for the purpose of accompanying Evans with the dogs back to Mankato. Lee having surrendered and the war being considered over, the colonel told Evans that he felt sure the regiment would soon be sent to Fort Snelling to be mustered out, and it would be better for him to wait and go with the regiment and save him the expense of transportation; but if the regiment was not ordered home by the first of July, he would make the detail. The dogs went to Minnesota with the regiment. But on trial it was found that while they had been trained to follow the scent of a negro everywhere to his death, as soon as it came to the scent and trail of an Indian they would stick their tails between their legs and make a cowardly sneak in an opposite direction. So Blue Earth County lost its one thousand so far as the specific object of its expedition was concerned, and the board of commissioners lost all of their glory in the transaction, except the credit of introducing the first lot of bloodhounds in the state.

Going back now to our military service after the battle of Nashville; we were still kept guarding the railroad, but the guerrillas were very quiet. A Methodist camp meeting was being held about two miles from our camp, where two men of another company had previously been murdered by guerrillas one Sunday; and I received notice from headquarters that two companies of our regiment would be at our camp on the next Sunday morning to go with my company and surround

the camp grounds and demand the surrender of some of Harper's gang of guerrillas who were to be there. We executed the orders, but failed to get the men, as by some underground method they had learned our purpose. The week before we had orders to return north, Harper sent word to Colonel Gilfillan that he would surrender his company of guerrillas, and arrangements were made to meet them and receive their surrender four miles east of Gallatin on a certain day. The surrender of seventy-five of them was accomplished, all laying down their arms except the officers, who were allowed to take their side arms and horses, and all took the same oath and parole of Lee's army and were permitted to return to their homes, except Harper and his lieutenants, who preferred to leave the state until they thought their homes would be a safe place for them from the vengeance of their Union neighbors. These officers were given a guard for their protection while they went with Harper to visit his home near my headquarters. This guard consisted of fifty men of my company and were to be at Harper's home the next day at ten o'clock, my first lieutenant and myself with them. Soon after we got there, Harper and his two lieutenants rode up on very fine horses, Harper a fine-looking man. They dismounted, but did not leave their horses until they were convinced we were there to protect them. During the four hours of our stay the family prepared dinner for us all, during which one of the officers took his dinner while the other two were outside on guard, suspicious and watching for trouble and ready to mount their horses at any moment and disappear, if any signs of danger were seen. While my men were having their dinner, Harper requested me and Lieutenant Neal to stay outside with him, as he wished to have some conversation with us. He told us he thought he and the other two would go to Mexico, as he knew they could not stay about home with any safety, as there were at least one hundred men in that county sworn to kill him at sight, and that if they knew of his surrender and this visit home, they probably would find it difficult to get away alive, and asked me

if Pardue, a former neighbor of theirs, was still at my camp, as he was his worst enemy and the one he feared the most, and [he] felt he would not be safe that day if Pardue knew he was at home. And if they ever met he would have to kill Pardue at once or lose his own life. I assured him that Pardue had gone to Nashville on duty and did not know of his surrender and visit to his home. During our conversation he was free to tell us of several incidents of narrow escapes from contact or capture when our men were after him and his party. In one instance, [when] staying over night on plantations within two miles of each other, he was informed of our presence by a slave of the plantation where we were stopping, sent to inform him of our movements by one of the young ladies where we were staying, we reaching there five minutes after he and his men had left the place; and how in the night he took ten men and visited the place, saw we were still there and had our guards stationed, and that he and his men were so near the house that they could see us distinctly through the windows and could have fired and killed some of us, but did not because we had been so kind to his father, mother, and sister; that several times they had had opportunity to kill some of our men, but he had given strict orders to his men not to kill any of the Eleventh Minnesota unless attacked by them. As he and all of his men lived in that vicinity, it was good policy for them, on account of their families and home interests, not to kill any of our regiment and draw its vengeance upon their families and homes.

My lieutenant called Harper's attention to the fact that he and his lieutenants had government saddles on their horses, and asked him if he was willing to tell how they came by them. "Most certainly; we took them from the freight trains we destroyed ten miles north of Richland station," he said. I asked him if his men killed and mangled the three soldiers there in charge of some horses. He said they did. Lieutenant Neal then told him that both of us had been through the Minnesota Indian war and had seen the effects of Indian

massacres and witnessed many horrible scenes of butchery, but in all the Indian wars and massacres had never looked upon persons so cruelly and horribly cut up and mangled as those three soldiers were. He replied that it was war, and such things were set apart for them to perform and were justifiable. Such inhuman malice as this to be justified by an intelligent being who participated in it, ought to have justified taking his life, even if he had surrendered to us. He narrated an instance when he and his men had arranged to capture my two lieutenants and myself at our boarding place about one hundred rods from our quarters near a heavy piece of woods just at dark, and said if we resisted we would have been killed, but we had just changed our boarding place. Lieutenant Neal assured him that we never could have been taken alive, as it was understood by us that it was sure death and of the cruelest kind to surrender to a band of guerrillas. Our conversation continued until dinner time, when we three sat down to an excellent farmer's meal, and after the father of the family invoked the divine blessing upon it, [we] partook heartily of this genuine home luxury, interspersed with many enjoyable stories from Captain Harper and Lieutenant Neal, both of whom were large, fine-looking men and excellent story-tellers, and the hour passed very pleasantly with many a roar of laughter.

The time had now come when Harper and his father and family must part, and it was a sad and tender moment, touching every one to tears, as they were an affectionate family. The father expressed the hope that his two sons in the Confederate army might live to soon return once more to a once happy home and they enjoy together a family reunion.

On leaving, Harper asked for a guard until he crossed the pike five miles west of Richland, which I had no authority to furnish; so, when we came to a bypath that led into the woods on the way to our camp, he thanked us for our kindness, bid us good-bye, and turned into the woods and was soon out of sight. We went on to camp relieved and congratulating our-

selves that we were at last rid of that fearless guerrilla leader and his band and would probably see him no more. If he went to Mexico, he made a quick trip of it, as we learned that he was back home within two months at his former work of killing some of his enemies, and Pardue was one of those who lost his life during the next fall. And this enmity was so bitter between the Union men and guerrillas in that country that assassinations continued until both parties were nearly, if not totally, destroyed, no doubt Harper with the rest.

The latter part of June our regiment was relieved from duty and started for home, and all along the way, after leaving Kentucky, received the same welcome and hospitality shown those that had served longer and had been in scores of battles. On Sunday the train carrying us was sidetracked near a small town in Indiana and the engine detached, intending to leave us there until Monday. But the men were too enthusiastic for home to stay sidetracked in that way, and with cheers got out and pushed the train about a mile to town. An engine was attached and we reached Chicago that evening, stopping at Indianapolis long enough for a sumptuous dinner, during which our six bloodhounds attracted more attention than our nine hundred soldiers and officers. They were decorated with stars and stripes and labeled as follows: "Purchased by Blue Earth County, Minnesota. No more slaves to run down. Enlisted with the United States for the Sioux war. Deserted our rebel master and bound for Minnesota or bust."

The night we reached Chicago the entire regiment, except the officers, rolled themselves in their blankets and slept on the soft side of the pavement on Michigan Avenue, near the Exposition Building, with the cool breezes from Lake Michigan to gently fan us to quiet rest; and hundreds of people came to our spacious bedrooms without curtains to take a look at the "war-worn veterans," and especially the Tennessee dogs. Early next morning we were marching to take the train for La Crosse, Wisconsin, where steamboats were to receive us and carry us up the Mississippi River to Fort Snelling. At

every place where we stopped along the road in Wisconsin, flags were flying from the housetops in our honor and ladies were at the train with flowers to pin on our coats, and baskets filled with fruit and food [were] distributed among us. And the nearer we got home the greater was the enthusiasm of welcome for the regiment and the six Tennessee recruits. At La Crosse, where we arrived just before dark, the mayor and citizens had prepared us good quarters for the night in the courthouse, city hall, and private homes. In the morning two large boats were at the wharf ready to take us on and give us a fine daylight ride up the "Father of Waters" and through historic Lake Pepin. It was the morning of the Fourth of July, and it looked as if nearly all the people in La Crosse wanted to take passage with us on those boats so great was the crowd at the dock. The regiment was divided between the boats; then the people to the full extent of the boats' capacity were permitted to go on, and it was stated that the "War Eagle," the floating palace of the Mississippi at that time, had fully two thousand people on board that day. There was a fine brass band on each boat, affording a very pleasant attraction. But many said that the dogs, the like of which they had never seen, three of them on each boat, were a far greater attraction than any brass band could be. Winona, Red Wing, Wabasha, and Lake City, where the boats stopped, were wild with enthusiasm over the return of the Eleventh Regiment. None of the men was allowed ashore, but baskets of flowers and refreshments were sent on board and distributed among them, for which they returned thanks to the kind people in many different ways, such as showing the dogs to the best possible advantage from the hurricane deck and throwing kisses to the young ladies.

Just before night we passed Hastings, where they gave us a gallant welcome by the firing of cannon and other patriotic demonstrations until we were out of sight. At eight o'clock we reached St. Paul, where the city had provided every comfort and welcome for our return home. Such recognition of

our services on the part of the people everywhere, such hearty welcome back, such overflowing kindness, hospitality, and cheers as we received was in itself almost enough to repay us for the hardships and exposures we had endured, and can never be forgotten. The next day we marched to Fort Snelling with nine hundred men, one hundred less than we had left there with, and on the eleventh day of July were mustered out of the service and discharged.[1]

We had served less than a year and no man of the regiment had been killed in battle. But many lives had been sacrificed by exposure, hardships, and strenuous service against guerrilla bands in northern Tennessee, so that every station along the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, from the Kentucky line to Nashville, can bear witness by grass-covered mounds where our comrades are buried, that the Eleventh Minnesota, though late in the field, fully contributed a portion of the lives of its noble and patriotic young men to the union of states and salvation of the nation; while all or nearly all who returned were for life less able-bodied men than they would have been if they had not performed that service, the seeds of disease and disability having been sown in their systems by exposure and hardships unavoidably incidental to army life in active service.[2]

After being mustered out, my company was furnished conveyance by government wagons to Mankato and from there

[1] Captain Potter's narrative of the arrival of the regiment at St. Paul differs in some particulars from the account in the *St. Paul Daily Press*, July 6, 1865.

Shortly before his death Captain Potter turned over to the Eleventh Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Association, with the express wish that it should be ultimately deposited with the Minnesota Historical Society, an album containing photographs of all the members of Company C of that regiment, taken at the time of their muster-out at Fort Snelling. The men of the company held Captain Potter in high esteem and affection; and the album was given him as a souvenir of their months of association together. Through the secretary-treasurer, Mr. Benjamin Brack of St. Paul, the album was forwarded to the society in June, 1916.

[2] For a history of the Eleventh Regiment Minnesota Infantry Volunteers, see "Narrative of the Eleventh Regiment" by Rufus Daven-

they went to their homes in Blue Earth Valley, where nearly all of them enlisted, as they were mostly farmers and farmers' sons. After we separated at Mankato, I returned to my home in Garden City to enjoy the blessings of peace once more in the undisturbed society of family and friends. Not long after reaching home, I purchased the beautiful farm of Colonel J. H. Baker on the Watonwan River, one mile from town, where I lived for the next ten years, during which Minnesota had become a great and prosperous state. Railroads had been built to reach nearly every county in the south part of the state, and the two former Indian reservations had been transformed into populated and prosperous farms, and the three years of Indian warfare, in which one thousand five hundred settlers' lives were sacrificed, seemed to have been almost forgotten, except by the oldest residents who shared in it and had a hand in driving the savages out of the state. The war, notwithstanding its cruelties and sufferings, apparently proved a final benefit in ridding the very best agricultural part of the state of its dangerous encumbrance much sooner and quicker than otherwise could have been done.

In 1873–75 the grasshoppers from the plains west of us came into the state in such vast numbers as to nearly destroy all the crops during those three years, to such an extent that most of the farmers who remained on their farms were obliged to accept aid from the state or friends outside the state. Every possible plan was tried to drive the locusts off or kill them off, but we found that though we could drive off and kill the Indians, the locusts were too much for our skill and power. Our county commissioners voted a bounty of ten cents a quart for them, and the schools were closed to have the children as well as adults catch and destroy them with canvas nets. The principal of the Garden City school, Judson Jones, and his

port of Company G, in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars,* 1: 488–491; *St. Paul Daily Press,* July 6, 1865. See also letters from various members of the regiment appearing in the *Press,* October 14, 30, November 3, 1864, January 26, June 28, 1865.

pupils spent one day on my farm with their nets, and my nearest neighbor had a canvas net attached to his hayrake and was catching them by horse power. And other improved methods of getting them so increased the catch that the price was put down to five cents a quart, and after the third day's harvest the crop was so great that the bounty was taken entirely off for fear of bankrupting the county. One large farmer attached a funnel-shaped net to his two hayrakes twenty feet apart, drawn by two horses, and his one day's catch filled as many grain sacks as could be loaded on a hayrack, and required four horses to draw them. They had to be killed in the sacks with kerosene oil and then the supervisor of each township had to attend to measuring them and burying them in long, deep trenches. But it availed little. On this account thousands of farmers left the state and took their stock with them and went into other western states.[1]

I will relate briefly another very exciting event in which I personally took part, which very much stirred up almost the entire state, the narration of which will close up my twenty years' life history in Minnesota.

About the first of August, 1876, eight men, mounted on fine horses, rode into Mankato and said they were looking for good opportunities to buy up Minnesota grasshopper-devastated farms. I met the same men pretending to be looking for cheap farm lands. Very soon after our conversation a procession headed by a brass band playing national airs came down the main street attracting the attention of the people. Immediately these land-buyers mounted their horses and rode to St. Peter; put up at the best hotel; called on the principal business men; went to the banks to get some bills changed; returned to the hotel and sat on the porch, amusing themselves during the

[1] The sufferings and hardships occasioned by the grasshopper plagues are recounted in local newspapers throughout southern Minnesota for this period. See also *The Grasshopper, or Rocky Mountain Locust, and Its Ravages in Minnesota; a Special Report to the Hon. C. K. Davis, Governor of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1876); Minnesota, *Executive Documents,* 1875, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 33; no. 13, p. 57.

afternoon throwing small coins into the street to see the boys scramble for them. During the evening they had many offers of cheap farms, which they promised to go and see. But next morning they left St. Peter and rode east through Le Sueur County, and on the second day took dinner at a restaurant in Northfield, Rice County. After dinner six of the men mounted their horses and at the same time the other two went to the only bank in the town and with revolvers aimed at him ordered the cashier to hand over to them all the money there was in the bank. The cashier at once closed the doors of the money vault, but was instantly shot dead and also the janitor of the bank and a customer then in the bank wounded. While this was occurring in the bank, the six men on their horses rode about firing their revolvers and ordering all persons to keep indoors or get shot. But the citizens had quickly become aroused to the emergency and from windows and doors began to pour on the mounted robbers a deadly fire, from which two of them fell dead from their horses and two more were wounded. The two in the bank hastily taking what little money was in sight, mounted hurriedly and fled to the woods a few miles from the village, where they remained in hiding for several days until they thought the excitement and search for them was over. Then leaving their horses, they started on foot to elude pursuit and try to get safely out of Minnesota.

On searching the two dead robbers, maps and other positive evidence was found proving that they were the gang of the James and Younger brothers, outlaws and robbers from Missouri, refuse and remnants from the war of the southern rebellion, who had turned to be depredators and marauders upon peaceful society. Four miles east of Mankato, in their attempts to get safely out of the state on foot, they entered a farm house by night and ordered the family to prepare them a good supper—the first good meal they had been able to get in eight days—paid for it and at once left for the woods again.

In the meantime the country all around had found out that the robbers and murderers were still in hiding in the state.

Special trains on all the railroads were made up and word sent out that all who wanted to volunteer to capture or kill this band of robbers should have a free pass on these trains. Immediately the whole southwestern part of the state was under arms hastening to the conflict. Old Indian fighters and Civil War veterans, with the arms they used before and were familiar with, rendezvoused at every available point, and before night guards and patrols were stationed at all bridges over the Blue Earth River, now swollen by recent rains, but which the robbers would have to cross to go west and get out of the state towards Missouri.

At the wagon bridge one mile west of Mankato, about ten o'clock that night, when very dark, some one threw stones into the east end of the covered bridge to ascertain if any one was inside, but did not attempt to cross. About thirty rods south of this was a long, high railroad bridge with nothing but cross ties and rails on and guarded by railroad section men. At these the robbers fired, and they fled away for safety. The robbers then crawled over that bridge on their hands and knees, stole two horses on which to mount their two wounded comrades, and then took the road to Lake Crystal. On reaching the Garden City road, they were fired at by guards stationed there, causing them to separate. The two James brothers stole two good farm horses belonging to Rev. Mr. Rockwood, a minister living in Garden City, and at daybreak next morning were seen riding bareback on two gray horses one mile north of Madelia. That morning Captain Ara Barton, sheriff of Rice County, who had served through the Indian war in the cavalry regiment with me, came to Garden City, to obtain information about the horses stolen from the minister and asked me to go with him after the robbers. I told him I had been in Michigan with my family for the last eight months, that my health was not good, and that I thought I could not endure such a task. But he urged me so hard I finally yielded, and loaded my carbine and revolver I had used through the Indian war and rode with him to Lake Crystal, where we took

the first train for St. James, thirty miles west. There we hired a team to take us north to head off the robbers if possible, but before we got started a man came in on horseback and informed us that the robbers had passed five miles north of us only an hour before. We then got the section men with two hand cars to take eight of us to Windom, thirty miles farther west, arriving there at two o'clock p.m. We got dinner and secured a good team to take eight of us twenty miles northwest to a ford on the Des Moines River, reaching there about dark. We stationed guards at the ford. The next morning we learned that the James boys had stayed all night with a settler ten miles north and east of us, which encouraged us, as we were now ahead of them. Then we took another ride of forty miles into Pipestone County, which was near the west state line, but could get no further track of the fugitives. So next day we rode south to the railroad, where we took the first train east towards home. On reaching Madelia, we learned that the hiding-place of four of the robbers had been discovered five miles north of Madelia, and two hundred armed men were after them, and before night one of the four robbers was killed and the three Younger brothers, all wounded, had been compelled to surrender and were in the hands of Sheriff Barton. As soon as this was known, a large delegation came from St. Paul on a special train to take the prisoners to St. Paul, but Sheriff Barton told them that, as they had committed the robbery and murder in Rice County under his jurisdiction, he should take them there for trial and punishment. But the St. Paul delegation thought if the prisoners were taken by the way of Owatonna, they would have to change cars twice, and the excited and angry people would capture and hang them before we reached the Rice County jail. As the sheriff had legal possession of the prisoners and a strong guard to protect them, he refused to take them to St. Paul, and it was finally arranged by having them take the body of the dead robber to St. Paul, while he took the live ones on to Rice County jail. It was said that the arrival of the dead robber in St. Paul was wit-

nessed by the largest crowd of people ever in the city up to that time.

The three robbers, whose wounds had not been dressed, were taken into a passenger car, and a doctor who examined them thought two of them would die before reaching their destination. Cole Younger, the oldest, was able to sit up and was willing to tell all they had passed through since coming into the state. As I was one of the guard and sat in the seat next him, he asked me many questions. One of the leading Mankato bankers was on the train, and Younger said he would like to speak with him. I went to Mr. S——— and told him the prisoner wanted to speak with him. Younger said, "I was in your bank fifteen days ago, got a twenty-dollar bill changed, talked with you about some farms you had for sale." "Yes," said Mr. S———, "and you agreed to return or let me hear from you." Younger replied, "I did not lie to you. I have done both. I have returned and you now hear from me." Mr. S——— lectured him for the business he was in. Younger asked if he would like to know the difference between the business he was following and that of the banker. Mr. S——— said he would, and Younger said: "In your business you are robbing the poor and in mine I am robbing the rich. Our plans were laid to rob the banks in your city and then make our escape through the unsettled country we came in on, but when that band came along the street and all the people came out, we lost our chance and our nerve and rode on into the thickest settled part of the state and went to our death, as I hear that the two James brothers have been killed and we three brothers are all that are left of the eight who visited your city fifteen days ago."

Another man from Mankato said to Younger, "Less than fourteen years ago we hung thirty-eight men in our city on one scaffold, and at the same time, every one of them as good [as], if not better than, you are." His reply was, "I expect to hang before I leave your city, but these are my two brothers, both mortally wounded, and one of them under twenty years of

age, on his first raid of this kind, and I blame myself for it, and all I ask of you people is not to hang those boys. Let them die as they are."

The train had now reached the city, where several thousand people were waiting to see the robbers and where we had to change to another railroad a quarter of a mile away. When the crowd of people saw the badly wounded robbers, they were moved with pity instead of malice towards them. At Owatonna we had to make another transfer. The entire city and country around were out in full force to get a look at the captured outlaws. The same feeling of pity prevailed here towards their wounded and suffering condition as at Mankato. Here we were informed by telegraph that at Faribault thousands of angry people had gathered and a strong mob element existed ready to hang the robbers. Sheriff Barton telegraphed back that he would be there on the regular train at three o'clock p.m. and that he had a strong guard and that, if any one tried to mob these mortally wounded prisoners, it would mean death to them. But instead of taking the regular train, we took a freight train that started earlier and stopped a mile south of Faribault depot, where two teams were ready to take the prisoners and guards direct to the jail, which was done so unexpectedly and secretly that the prisoners were inside the prison and under the doctor's care while the excited mass of people were at the depot waiting for the coming of the regular passenger train. When they found that the prisoners were in the jail, many spoke in favor of mobbing them, but learning of the badly wounded condition they were in, decided to let the law take its course with them.

By request of the sheriff I stayed five days with them, and during that time a strong guard was kept at the jail. Then I returned home in Garden City, leaving my army carbine to be used by the guard, and it was the gun that killed a man who approached the jail one night and would not halt at the sentry's order. Twenty years after that I wrote Captain Barton to send me that carbine by express, as I desired to have it go to

my posterity as a valued relic and memento of the days of the Indian wars in Minnesota. But he informed me that it had been destroyed by fire.

As soon as the three Younger brothers recovered from their wounds, they were brought to trial, plead guilty, and sentenced to state prison for life. The state law was such that if a murderer plead guilty, he could not be hung.[1]

The five days I spent in the siege and battle of New Ulm in the Sioux war were more dangerous, but the five days I spent in the attempt to capture the two James brothers and the capture and taking to jail of the three Younger brothers, were fully as exciting, and demonstrated to me that the good and loyal people of Minnesota would never allow themselves to be robbed and murdered by any unexpected invasion of a band of desperate guerrillas of the southern chivalry without instantly rallying and making a brave and victorious fight for their lives and property.

As I had now lived west of the Mississippi nearly twenty-five years and had my share of western pioneer life, I concluded to go back to my native state until the grasshopper scourge had passed away, and then return when I could obtain a living by hard labor and not have it consumed by hoards of insects. With this in view I rented my farm to a man who had no means with which to leave the country and depended upon the state to furnish him seed for the next season's planting. I sold my live stock to parties living outside the visited and scourged district, and in the fall of 1876 started for Michigan, where my family had been for the past year.

[1] Detailed accounts of the Northfield robbery and of the pursuit of the desperadoes appeared in the *St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer-Press and Tribune*, September 8–October 7, 1876; *Faribault Republican*, September 13–27, 1876. See also Thomas Coleman Younger, *The Story of Cole Younger*, 79–93 (Chicago, 1903); John Jay Lemon, *The Northfield Tragedy; a History of the Northfield Bank Raid and Murders* (St. Paul, 1876); George Huntington, *Robber and Hero; the Story of the Raid of the First National Bank of Northfield, Minnesota, by the James-Younger Band of Robbers in 1876* (Northfield, 1895).

The following winter I traveled as a book agent, but my health suffering some, I abandoned that kind of employment. The next season I traded my Minnesota farm for a Michigan farm, on which I lived until my family of five children were all of age. During this time I was also engaged with two of my brothers in the hardwood lumber business at Potterville. I then sold my farm and bought another in the same county, lying on a new line of railroad being built. I laid out the present village of Mulliken and continued a few years longer in the lumber business, then took a quarter interest in the Potter Furniture Manufacturing Company at Lansing, making that city my home during the past sixteen years.

My life has not been filled with important and thrilling events as some others of frontier life for a shorter period. Though I have not suffered great hardships, still there have been many exposures, trials, and dangers. Yet, as I now look back upon those earlier experiences of pioneer and army life, they seem more like pleasures than hardships and perils.

And now at seventy-five years of age, man's usual life limit at the maximum, as I see myself still enjoying the companionship of the wife of my youth and that of all my children and thirteen grandchildren, not a death having yet occurred among us, enjoying the unbroken love as well as companionship of all these, I ask what more can I have to comfort me in this life except to know that after this mortal body is cared for there will be an immortal body and still happier home.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in North America, 1784–1812 (The Champlain Society, *Publications,* no. 12). Edited by J. B. Tyrrell. (Toronto, the society, 1916. xcviii, 582 p.)

The explorer whose narration is here published was a Welshman, born April 30, 1770, of humble parents, with little possessions, who had migrated to London, living in its then suburb of Westminster. Before the baby boy was two years old, his father died. At the age of seven he was admitted as a charity pupil in the Grey Coat School, distant about five minutes' walk from Westminster Abbey. From this school he was indentured, when fourteen years old, to an apprenticeship of seven years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, which he began in the summer of 1784, coming at first to the fur-trading post named Churchill Factory. Two years later he went to remote posts on the Saskatchewan River, and his places of service were several times changed.

In 1789, at nineteen years of age, Thompson began at Cumberland House his great work as a surveyor and geographer, determining the exact geographic position of that trading post by a large number of astronomical observations. Thenceforward, through a quarter of a century, he was a most efficient explorer and cartographer of the vast region stretching from Hudson Bay and Lake Superior west to the Fraser and Columbia rivers and the Pacific Ocean, and north to Reindeer and Athabasca lakes.

After eight years of surveys with the Hudson's Bay Company, he transferred his service in 1797 to the Northwest Company. For both these corporations he was engaged largely as a fur-trader, his surveying and mapping being done in the intervals of time that could be spared from that work. Only two expeditions were made chiefly for exploration to supply maps, these being in the winter and spring of 1797–98, when on a journey to the villages of the Mandans, on the Missouri River, and in the closely ensuing travel through northern Minnesota by the headwaters of the Mississippi.

During March and April of 1798 Thompson traveled thus from the Red River Valley to Red Lake and to Turtle Lake, the latter situated on the most northern tributary of the Mississippi River, mapping these lakes and streams. Thence he proceeded in May down the Mississippi to Sandy Lake, and by the Savanna and St. Louis rivers to Fond du Lac, at the west end of Lake Superior. This part of his narration has the greatest interest for Minnesota readers.

In 1813 and 1814 Thompson drafted for the Northwest Company a large map of the Northwest Territory of Canada, and with additions through surveys made by others he extended his mapping from the 84th to the 124th meridian, and in latitude from the 45th to the 60th parallel. A reduced facsimile of this manuscript map is published in the present work. Parts of it, and many notes of its place names and other observations from Thompson's field books, were published in 1897 by Dr. Elliott Coues, in his *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest.* The reader should likewise consult an earlier paper by the present editor, Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, published in pamphlet form under the title *A Brief Narrative of the Journeys of David Thompson in North-Western America* (Toronto, 1888), and appearing also in the *Proceedings* of the Canadian Institute, third section, volume 6, 1887–88, pages 135–160.

Thompson's field plats and notes, including many determinations of latitude and longitude throughout the vast area of his explorations, fill about forty record books, in the surveys branch of the crown lands department of Ontario, at Toronto. These have been carefully compared by Mr. Tyrrell with this *Narrative,* which was written by Thompson in his declining years, with the hope to see it published. Its chapters telling of the travel in the Red River Valley and past the upper Mississippi to Fond du Lac were written in 1848, when the author was seventy-eight years old.

After 1815, when the surveys narrated in this volume and their delineation on its map had been completed, Thompson was during ten years a Canadian government surveyor, defining and mapping the international boundary line, from where the forty-fifth parallel crosses the St. Lawrence River west to the Lake of the Woods, and surveying also the other proposed routes for the boundary

adjoining Minnesota, by the St. Louis River and by the more northern Kaministiquia River.

During the progress of the boundary work and for many years afterward, his home was in Williamstown, Glengarry County, Ontario. Thence he removed to Longueuil, near Montreal, where his latest years were darkened by failing eyesight and by poverty, and where he died February 10, 1857. His wife, Charlotte Small, a half-breed of Scotch and Ojibway blood, to whom he was married at Isle à la Crosse on June 10, 1799, survived him by only three months, dying May 7; and they were buried, beside children who had preceded them, in Mount Royal cemetery, Montreal.

The following quotations from what Thompson wrote of his journey to Red Lake and the Mississippi River indicate well the descriptive and historical value of this work. From the trading house of Baptiste Cadotte, on the Red Lake River at the site of the town of Red Lake Falls, he started on April 9, 1798, to ascend the tributary Clearwater River by canoe with three Canadian boatmen.

"On the twelfth we arrived at the Carrying Place which leads to the Red Lake River, having come sixty four miles up this sinuous River. The east side, or right bank had fine Forests, but as we advanced, the Aspin became the principal growth of the Woods. The West Bank had patches of hard wood trees, with much fine meadow which led to the Plains, the whole a rich deep soil.

"The Carrying Place is four miles in length of part marsh and part good ground to the Bank of the Red Lake River, in Latitude 48 . 0 . 55 N Longitude 95 . 54 . 28 W. Variation 10° East.

"Our course was now up this River to the Red Lake, a distance of thirty two miles. Both banks of this River well timbered with Oak, Ash and other hard Woods, intermixed with much Aspin and Poplar. A rich deep soil, but now from the melting of the Snow every where covered with water, the country so level, that only a chance bit of dry bank was to be seen. . . .

"At the Lake the kind old Chief, Sheshepaskut with six Lodges of Chippeways were camped. He gave us three pickerel and two large pike, a welcome change from dried meat. . . . This, the Red Lake is a fine sheet of Water of about thirty miles in length by eight to 10 miles in breadth; the banks rise about twenty to

thirty feet, the soil is somewhat sandy and produces Firs of a fine growth, with the other usual woods, and in places, the white Cedar but of short growth. This Lake like several other places, has occasionally a trading House for one Winter only, the country all around, being too poor in furrs to be hunted on a second winter. The Lake being covered with ice, and patches of water, at places we paddled the Canoe, and where the ice was firm, made a rude Sledge on which we placed the Canoe and Baggage, and hauled it over the ice to a patch of water and thus continued for seventeen miles; a laborious work and always wet, the weather frequent showers of Rain and Sleet, and then clear weather. We now came to a Carrying Place of six miles in length, in a south direction, over which we carried our Canoe and things.

"The Road was through Firs and Aspins, with a few Oaks and Ash. Near the middle of the Carrying Place the Ground had many ascents and descents of twenty to forty feet, the first we have seen since we left the Red River. By 9 PM on the 23rd of April we had carried all over, and now had to cross the country to the Turtle Lake, the head of the Mississippe River at which we arrived on the 27th. Our Journey has been very harassing and fatigueing; from Pond to Pond and Brook to Brook with many carrying places, the Ponds, or small Lakes were some open, others wholly or partly covered with ice; the Brooks so winding, that after paddling an hour we appeared to have made very little, or no advance" (pp. 267–269).

"From Mr Cadotte's House on the Red [Lake] River to this place, the Turtle Lake we have been nineteen days, rising early and putting up late, and yet by my astronomical observations, the course and distance is S 71 E 56 statute miles, in a direct line not quite three miles a day. These circuituous routes deceive the traveller, and induce him to think he is at a much greater distance from a given place than what he actually is. The Turtle Lake, which is the head of the Mississippe River, is four miles in length, by as many in breadth and it's small bays give it the rude form of a Turtle" (p. 271).

"We entered the Red Cedar Lake [now known as Cass Lake] in a fine Stream of fifteen yards in width by two feet in depth, and three miles an hour. Proceeding five miles over the Lake we came to the trading house of Mr John Sayer, a Partner of the

North West Company, and in charge of this Department" (p. 274).

"On the third day of May we took leave of our kind host; our provisions were wild rice and maple sugar, with powder and shot for ducks. One mile beyond the house we entered the River, now augmented to twenty six yards in width by three feet in depth, at two miles an hour. The valley of the Mississippe lay now clear before me, it's direction South East; it's appearance was that of a meadow of long half dried grass without water of about half a mile in width, or less. . . .

"At 7 PM we put up in Lake Winepegoos [Winnibegoshish] formed by the waters of this River. It's length is seventeen miles, by about six miles in width, the principal fish is Sturgeon. The woods have all day had much Fir, both red and black, the latter very resinous and much used for torches for night fishing" (p. 276).

"Whatever the Nile has been in ancient times in Arts and Arms, the noble valley of the Mississippe bids fair to be, and excluding its pompous, useless, Pyramids and other works; it's anglo saxon population will far exceed the Egyptians in all the arts of civilized life, and in a pure religion. Although these are the predictions of a solitary traveller unknown to the world they will surely be verified (1798)" (p. 280).

"On the 6th day of May we arrived at the Sand Lake River, up which we turn and bend our course for Lake Superior. Since we left the Red [Lake] River on the 9th day of April we have not seen the track of a Deer, or the vestige of a Beaver, not a single Aspin marked with it's teeth. The Indians we met all appeared very poor from the animals being almost wholly destroyed in this section of the country; their provisions were of wild rice and sugar; we did not see a single duck in their canoes, ammunition being too scarce; nor did we see a Bow and Arrows with them" (p. 281).

Not only Minnesota, but also North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington, are much indebted to Mr. Tyrrell and the Champlain Society for this *Narrative* and map, which shed "new light" on their early history. Thompson preceded Morrison, Cass, and Schoolcraft in exploration of the upper Mississippi, and he was twenty-five years earlier than Beltrami at Red and Turtle

lakes; but yet earlier white traders had their trading posts on Red, Cass, and Sandy lakes, though leaving no written records for history.

WARREN UPHAM

Chronicles of Canada. Edited by GEORGE M. WRONG and H. H. LANGTON. In thirty-two volumes. (Toronto, Glasgow, Brook, and Company, 1914–1916. Illustrated)

To produce a comprehensive history of a country which shall be at the same time scholarly and reliable in content, and popular and attractive in form is a worthy but difficult undertaking. Such, however, appears to have been the aim of the publishers and editors of this work, and in that aim they have been surprisingly successful. They have secured the services of a group of writers, most of whom have established reputations as historical students, and these writers have demonstrated anew the proposition that there is no essential antithesis between scholarship and literature. The series has the usual excellencies and defects of coöperative work. Each volume, as a rule, is the work of a specialist in the subject dealt with and thus embodies the results of the most recent investigations, but there is necessarily considerable unevenness in quality from both the scholarly and the literary standpoints, and the series as a whole is loosely organized. The thirty-two volumes are grouped into nine parts, beginning with "The First European Visitors" (2 v.). This is followed by "The Rise of New France" (5 v.), "The English Invasion" (4 v.), and "The Beginnings of British Canada" (3 v.). Thus far the arrangement is essentially chronological, but part 5, entitled "The Red Man in Canada," consists of biographies of Brant, Pontiac, and Tecumseh, while part 6 (6 v.) is a sectional group dealing with the "Pioneers of the North and West." The chronological treatment reappears in part 7, "The Struggle for Political Freedom" (4 v.), and part 8, "The Growth of Nationality" (3 v.), but the last part (2 v.) is a topical group on "National Highways." Nearly half of the volumes are essentially biographical in character, a fact which adds to the interest of the individual volumes but detracts from the unity of the series as a whole. The books are small, averaging only about two hundred pages, well printed, and attractively

bound. Numerous illustrations and a few well-executed maps are included. There are no footnote references, but each volume contains a brief bibliographical note. The indexes are quite inadequate.

Some of the volumes of the series have a special interest for students of Minnesota history. Stephen Leacock's *Dawn of Canadian History* deals with early man in America, the Indians, and the Norsemen, but makes no mention of the Kensington Runestone. T. G. Marquis' *Jesuit Missions* has chapters on "The Dispersion of the Hurons" and "The Missionary Explorers." Agnes Laut's *'Adventurers of England' on Hudson Bay* is "A Chronicle of the Fur Trade in the North," and L. J. Burpee's *Pathfinders of the Great Plains* is "A Chronicle of La Vérendrye and His Sons." Louis A. Wood tells the story of Lord Selkirk's ill-fated enterprise in *The Red River Colony.* In *All Afloat,* by William Wood, and *The Railway Builders,* by O. D. Skelton, is seen the connection between the development of transportation in Canada and the United States.

SOLON J. BUCK

History of Cottonwood and Watonwan Counties, Minnesota; Their People, Industries, and Institutions. JOHN A. BROWN, editor-in-chief. In two volumes. (Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen and Company, 1916. 595, 486 p. Illustrated)

In many respects this work is similar to the histories of Otter Tail, Nicollet and Le Sueur, and Brown counties which were brought out by the same publishers and were recently reviewed in these pages.[1] It is apparently the work of company agents and local contributors under the supervision of a prominent resident. The two volumes display the same excellence of external form, together with the usual admixture of good and bad in internal structure and content. "History" is still not history, but rather is it historical material partially unified in a form that might better be called a county bluebook. Biographies yet partake too much of the character of eulogies. There is still room for improvement in the matter of maps, illustrations, and indexes. Progress, however, has undoubtedly been made, and it is to be

[1] See *ante* 378–386.

hoped that, even within the limitations necessarily imposed by commercial considerations, the standard of future publications of this and other companies engaged in the production of county histories will more and more nearly approximate the scholarly ideal.

A number of features more or less peculiar to this history of Cottonwood and Watonwan counties appear worthy of remark. The two counties are considered separately in the historical volume, but with sufficient similarity in method and content to warrant a review of the volume as a whole. A commendable feature of the work is the extent and variety of the sources used. Particularly in evidence is a large mass of information gleaned from the most valuable and oftenest neglected source available, the county records. It is probable that the company was fortunate, in this connection, in securing as editor-in-chief a man whom long experience as an official had acquainted with the character and value of the county archives. Instead of merely dipping into the records or ignoring them altogether, the compilers apparently made an effort to search out, select, and organize all the significant material therein. The results obtained are encouraging. For example, from the office of the register of deeds is drawn information relating to the original distribution of the public lands, which, together with data to be found in the biographies, census statistics, and reminiscences, furnishes a wealth of material bearing upon the causes, character, conditions, and progress of settlement in those counties. Still more extensive use is made of the auditor's records, and especially of the proceedings of the county commissioners. Here were found significant facts relating to the organization and administration of the counties, towns, and school districts. These and other archival data, together with facts and extracts from official reports, semipublic records, newspapers, and reminiscences, make up an exceedingly valuable, though incompletely organized, body of historical material.

In most cases, where passages of any length are adapted or quoted, the sources are duly indicated. No acknowledgment, however, is given in connection with the chapters on the geology and topography of the two counties. These are evidently taken, with only obviously necessary changes, from Warren Upham's chapters on "The Geology of Watonwan and Martin Counties" and

"The Geology of Cottonwood and Jackson Counties" in volume one of the *Final Report* of the Minnesota Geological and Natural History Survey. Another passage, quoted, descriptive of the Sioux Indians, is thus tantalizingly introduced, "The subjoined account was written of them [the Sioux] long years before they had caused the pioneers of the Northwest so much trouble in their warfare." Omissions and obscurities of this sort could and should be avoided.

The work contains a number of excellent contributed articles, of which C. W. Gillam's account of the "Windom City Schools" deserves especial mention. Some of the other material included, such as the chapter on "Related State History" and Dr. Asa W. Daniels' "Reminiscences of the Little Crow Uprising," has been used before in other county histories published by the Bowen Company. The reprinting of this material is probably justifiable, but the reader should have been apprised of the fact that Benedict Juni's account of his seven weeks' captivity among the Indians has been printed many times before. Numerous interesting stories and unusual bits of history serve to offset the instructive but uninteresting lists of names. For example, the account of the two stolen townships which were once a part of Cottonwood County and are now included in Brown County reveals an uncommon situation. Of more than local interest are stories of the "grasshopper scourge" of 1873–77. To outsiders and students of history a somewhat fuller treatment of such subjects as the Mennonites and the Cottonwood County Immigration Society would have been acceptable.

FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK

Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the Year 1914–15. Volume 8. Edited by MILO M. QUAIFE, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the Torch Press, 1916. 361 p.)

The volume opens with an account of the eighth annual meeting of the association, held at New Orleans, April 22–27, 1915, in which are embodied a number of committee reports presented at that meeting. The committee on administration of historical societies reported that a large amount of information had been

collected, and recommended the preparation of an elaborate report "indicating the most generally successful form of organization for a historical society, giving in detail the reasons for and against the various features suggested." The report of the committee on historic sites advocated the development in each state of "a central agency for the creation of state parks and reserves and for the preservation and marking of historic sites, this agency to be vested by law with general supervision of this entire field and receive such state aid as may be deemed adequate."

The report of the secretary-treasurer on the work of the association for the year, which follows, contains an account of the dinner held in Chicago on December 28, 1914, and of the joint conference with the American Historical Association on December 31. This is followed by a comprehensive report of the committee on the establishment of departments of state history in state universities. This committee made a thorough investigation of the existing situation, and its report contains lists of courses in regional and state history offered by such institutions throughout the country. Among the conclusions reached are these: that "the formation of a distinct teaching department of state history in our state universities is not desirable"; that "it is possible and desirable for most departments of history in state universities to offer at least one course in which the history of the state may be studied, even by undergraduates"; and that such departments "should assume a special, though by no means an exclusive, obligation to foster research in the history of their own commonwealths and to utilize those materials which lie nearest at hand."

Eighteen addresses and papers read at the meetings of the year are printed in full. Of greatest interest to students of Minnesota history is "Joseph Reynolds and the Diamond Jo Line Steamers, 1862–1911," by George B. Merrick, which contains a wealth of information about steamboating on the upper Mississippi. "The Agrarian History of the United States as a Subject for Research," by William J. Trimble, contains many valuable suggestions; and a variety of ways in which historical museums can be turned to good account, especially in teaching, are brought out by Edward C. Page in "How the Museum of History Works."

S. J. B.

South Dakota Historical Collections. Volume 8. Compiled by the State Department of History. (Pierre, State Publishing Company, 1916. 596 p. Illustrated)

The "State Department of History" appears to be but another name for the State Historical Society of South Dakota, which was organized in 1901 and now has about a hundred active members. Besides the usual function of an historical society, the department takes the state censuses, has charge of vital statistics, and serves as a legislative bureau. It is required by law to publish a volume of *Collections* for each biennium. The bulk of the present volume consists of "as much as concerns the South Dakota region of the official correspondence pertaining to the Indian war which followed the great outbreak of the Sioux Indians in Minnesota, beginning on August 18, 1862." The documents have been taken principally from the *Rebellion Records,* although "a considerable amount of fugitive matter" has been included. They belong nearly as much to Minnesota as to South Dakota history, and it will be convenient to have them collected in a single volume and arranged in chronological order. The volume contains also a number of pioneer reminiscences, sketches of the "Progress of South Dakota" in 1914 and 1915 by Doane Robinson, the superintendent of the department, and a description, with several maps, plans, and photographs, of "Dakota Military Posts." It is to be regretted that a more adequate index was not provided.

S. J. B.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

At the stated meeting of the executive council, October 9, 1916, Messrs. William W. Cutler and Victor Robertson were elected members of the council to fill the vacancies created by the deaths of Messrs. James J. Hill and Edward C. Stringer. Provision was made at this meeting for a special membership committee of five, with power to increase its number.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending October 30, 1916: Charles H. Bigelow, Henry B. Hall, Charles R. Boostrom, Clara F. Baldwin, James A. Nowell, Mary B. Kimball, M. Blanchard Carpenter, Charles W. Farnham, Charles Donnelly, Dr. Arthur J. Gillette, Emerson Hadley, Benjamin O. Chapman, Mrs. George C. Squires, Oliver Crosby, Louis Betz, Joseph McKibbin, Charles L. Sommers, William W. Cutler, Benjamin Sommers, Charles M. Power, George T. Slade, Howard F. Ware, Ira C. Oehler, Rev. Charles E. Haupt, Patrick Keigher, Charles W. Gordon, Thomas D. O'Brien, Nathaniel P. Langford, Isaac Summerfield, and Rush B. Wheeler of St. Paul; Paul J. Thompson, Franklin F. Holbrook, Mary E. Palmes, Marjorie Wildes, Carl L. Becker, Edward E. Smith, Fletcher H. Swift, John Day Smith, and Dr. Caryl B. Storrs of Minneapolis; Burt W. Eaton, Dr. Christopher Graham, Elliott A. Knowlton, Dr. Charles H. Mayo, Dr. William J. Mayo, George W. Granger, and James A. Melone of Rochester; Elias Steenerson, John J. Kelly, and William A. Marin of Crookston; Rev. Francis L. Palmer and George H. Sullivan of Stillwater; William Hayes and James A. Tawney of Winona; Obert R. Nelson of Madison; A. J. Peterson of Dawson; Montreville J. Brown of Bemidji; George W. Buck of Duluth; Oliver W. Shaw of Austin; Edwin Nordstrom of Sacred Heart; William F. Odell of Chaska; Frank H. Peterson of Moorhead; William M. Taber of Park Rapids; W. E. Parker of Wadena; Arthur P. Silliman of Hibbing; and James Hazen Hyde of Paris, France.

In the BULLETIN for February, 1916, announcement was made of a coöperative enterprise on the part of the historical societies and departments of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, for the purpose of searching for and calendaring material in the various archives depositories in Washington bearing on the history of these states. As a result of the first year's work, principally in the state department archives, each of the institutions now possesses a very valuable calendar of several thousand documents of importance for the history of the Northwest. So successful was the experiment that the institutions agreed unanimously to continue the work, and the archives of the interior department are now being searched. It is expected that ultimately the coöperative plan will be extended to the securing of photostatic copies of the more important of the documents now being calendared.

The most significant development in the work of the society during the recent months has been the appointment of a field agent, Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, who is to devote his time to work for the society in various parts of the state. It is the intention that he shall ultimately visit each county and while there make an inventory of the county and local archives, search for material of historical value in private hands, securing the same for the society whenever possible, and finally get in touch with the leading men in each community, inform them about the society and its work, and, if conditions seem favorable, invite them to become members. Several counties have already been visited by Mr. Holbrook, and the value of the work which he is doing is becoming more and more apparent. It is expected that the members and friends of the society in each place visited will do everything in their power to facilitate the work.

During September and October Mr. William B. Nickerson conducted archeological explorations for the society in Blue Earth County, completing the investigation of the Jones village site near Cambria, where some work was done by Professor Winchell and Mr. Nickerson in 1913. It is expected that Mr. Nickerson's final report on the results of this investigation will be completed early in 1917. Some field work on the peculiar type of lowland mounds of Dakota, Rice, and Goodhue counties

was carried on during the summer by President Edward W. Schmidt of Red Wing Seminary, under the auspices of the society.

Gifts

Through the kindness of Mrs. Houlton and other members of the family of the late William H. Houlton of Elk River, Minnesota, the society has become custodian of the large number of letters and papers, business account books, and miscellany which Mr. Houlton accumulated during a long and active career. The papers range in date from 1793 to 1915, and number several thousand. An adequate description of them must of necessity wait upon the more thorough inspection which will accompany their preparation for filing. In the meantime a summary account of Mr. Houlton's life and activities will serve to indicate the general character of the collection. Mr. Houlton came west with his father in 1854 as a lad of fourteen years. After a two years' stay in Illinois he settled in Minnesota, first at Monticello, and later, in 1866, at Elk River. His death, in August, 1915, brought to a close a residence of fifty-nine years in the state. During this time the greater part of Mr. Houlton's energies was devoted to mercantile, milling, real estate, and banking enterprises, and particularly to the manufacture of lumber and of lumber products. But occupied though he was with business affairs, he was able also from time to time to serve the public interest, notably as a volunteer in the Indian and southern campaigns of 1862–65, as a county official, as a state senator, and as superintendent of the St. Cloud reformatory. To Mr. Houlton's habit of saving all of his own papers and to his interest in the gathering of early family records, is due the extent and apparent continuity of the collection.

The society has acquired through Hon. John B. Sanborn of St. Paul a collection of books and papers, among which are included the first docket kept by the law firm of Sanborn and French from its beginning, January 1, 1855, a number of documents, letters, and papers of General John B. Sanborn, and a manuscript report presented by Father De Smet to the United States commissioners for the negotiation of peace with the Sioux

Indians in 1868, giving an account of his preliminary expedition to the Indians on Powder River for the purpose of inducing them to enter into negotiations. This latter document was apparently unknown to Messrs. Chittenden and Richardson, compilers of the four-volume edition of the *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet among the North American Indians,* and it is of very considerable historical value.

From Mr. James P. Greeley of St. Paul has been received a book containing the manuscript minutes or proceedings of the Minnesota Soldiers' Aid Society from June 6, 1862, to October 6, 1863. This society, made up of Minnesota men in Washington, was organized for the purpose of looking after the interests of the soldiers from the state. Accompanying the book were some letter-press copies of letters written by Mr. J. F. Stoek, 1863–69. During these years Mr. Stoek was Minnesota state agent in the general land office in Washington, and was active in caring for the interests of Minnesota soldiers.

A collection of about sixty papers of Willis A. Gorman, governor of Minnesota Territory from 1853 to 1857, has been received from Mr. Charles W. Farnham of St. Paul. It consists of vouchers, accounts, abstracts of bids for supplies, and other material of a similar character, accumulated by the governor in his capacity of superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory.

From an anonymous donor has been received a printed circular containing the call for the territorial Republican convention of 1855, the first of the party in Minnesota. Accompanying the call is a form letter urging the recipient to take a leading part in arranging for the appointment of delegates. This copy is addressed to J. M. Boal and bears a penciled annotation to the effect that it was found among General Sibley's papers on December 10, 1893.

Miss Mina E. Pomeroy of St. Paul has donated to the society a crayon portrait of her grandfather, Rev. Wentworth Hayden, a Baptist clergyman, who came to Minnesota in 1854, and who was a member of the territorial legislature of 1857, of the state legislature of 1861, and of the Republican constitutional convention.

A large manuscript map of Mille Lacs County, dated November, 1895, has been presented by Mr. Charles Keith of Princeton, and another manuscript map of the same county, without date, but drawn apparently a few years later, has been received from the county auditor.

Through the courtesy of Dr. William W. Folwell, Mr. Warren B. Dunnell has presented a collection of nineteen letters written to Hon. Mark H. Dunnell in the late seventies and early eighties by such men as C. K. Davis, L. F. Hubbard, Captain Castle, and Stephen Miller. Most of the letters relate to political matters and are of considerable historical value.

Chronicles of the Cochrans; Being a Series of Historical Events and Narratives in Which Members of This Family have Played a Prominent Part (1915. 149 p.) is the title of a book presented by the author, Mrs. Ida Cochran Haughton of Columbus, Ohio. As indicated by the subtitle, the work is something more than a genealogy.

A file of the *Northwestern Chronicle,* a weekly newspaper published in St. Paul during the sixties, has been received from Mrs. J. C. Devereux, the widow of the publisher. By means of this gift the society has been enabled to complete its partial file of this paper.

Mr. and Mrs. William R. Weide of St. Paul have donated an interesting collection of curios, consisting of Indian and Civil War relics, old newspapers and documents, mostly in facsimile, and a number of deeds and other official papers relating to property in St. Paul.

Mr. Herbert C. Varney has presented a file of the genealogical pages of the *Boston Transcript* and has offered to keep it up in the future. It is expected that this file will be very useful to the many workers in genealogy who use the society's library.

The Minnesota Steel Company of Duluth, through its president, Mr. William H. McGonagle, a member of the society, has presented a piece of the first steel billet made by this company to commemorate the beginning of this industry in Minnesota.

Mr. James M. George of Winona has presented a collection of old papers, consisting for the most part of certificates, commissions, licenses, deeds, and similar material, relating to the family of L. H. Bunnell, a former resident of that city.

A copy of the *Glencoe Register and Soldiers' Budget* for February 7, 1862, has been received from Mr. E. M. Swift of Robertsdale, Alabama. This number helps to fill in a gap in the society's file of this paper.

Through the courtesy of Mr. J. A. Chamberlain, business manager of the publication, the society has been receiving the *Minnesota Border Patrol,* a weekly published by the First Minnesota Infantry at Camp Llano Grande, Mercedes, Texas.

A photograph of Company E, Eighth Minnesota Infantry Volunteers, taken at Fort Snelling in 1862, has been presented by Mr. George Tourtillotte of Elk River.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The Wisconsin Historical Society has recently acquired by bequest the estate of George B. Burrows of Madison, the present value of which is estimated to be in excess of $250,000. "The income from such a fund," writes the superintendent, "will make possible the prosecution by the State Historical Society of many important enterprises in the field of Wisconsin and western history which lack of funds has hitherto rendered impracticable." Not only the Wisconsin society but all interested in western history are to be congratulated on this splendid endowment.

The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway, Kept on the Expedition of Western Exploration, 1803–1806 (1916. 444 p.) has been issued as volume 22 of the *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The documents are ably edited by Dr. Milo M. Quaife, superintendent of the society, and form a valuable supplement to the Lewis and Clark material collected and edited by Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites. It is quite fitting that this work should be put out by the Wisconsin Historical Society, but it is unfortunate that it should be included in the series of *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* which has hitherto been confined in the main to Wisconsin material. As it is, the book affords an interesting dilemma to librarians. Its logical place in any classification scheme would be with the other Lewis and Clark material, but most librarians will probably put it with the rest of the set in the class devoted to Wisconsin history.

Historical Pageantry: A Treatise and a Bibliography, by Ethel T. Rockwell, has been issued as no. 84 of the *Bulletins of Information* of the Wisconsin Historical Society (1916. 19 p.).

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September, 1916, contains two papers read at the Nashville meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association: "Some Verendrye Enigmas," by Orin G. Libby, and "The Function of Military History," by A. L. Conger. "The Organization of the British Fur Trade"

is the subject of an article by Wayne E. Stevens, and Lawrence J. Burpee contributes an account of "Historical Activities in Canada" during the past year.

The *Somerset County* (New Jersey) *Historical Quarterly* for October, 1916, contains a note on General Zebulon M. Pike, from which it appears that his birthplace probably was not "Lamberton, near (now part of) the city of Trenton," as stated in all sketches of his life, but Lamington in Somerset County.

The *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* is the title of a new quarterly published by Ohio State University for the Ohio History Teachers' Association. The first issue, for March, 1916, contains papers read at the meetings of the association in 1915. One of these, by C. L. Martzolff, entitled "Justification for a Study of Ohio History in Our Schools," is a plea for more attention to the history of the state in general courses in United States history. Of interest in the same connection is the report by H. C. Hockett of the plans of the association for publishing "A Source Book on the National Aspects of Ohio History."

The second part of Miss Ruth Gallaher's "Indian Agents of Iowa" in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October, 1916, contains an account of the St. Peter's agency established near Fort Snelling in 1819.

Acta et Dicta, the serial published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, appears in an improved format with the issue of July, 1916. It is now edited by Rev. William Busch of St. Paul Seminary. This number opens with the first four chapters of a "Life of the Rt. Rev. Joseph Cretin, First Bishop of the Diocese of St. Paul," by Archbishop Ireland, which deal with the early life and education of Bishop Cretin in France. "The Catholic Church in Wright County," by Rev. Mathias Savs, and "The Catholic Church in Goodhue County," by Rev. James H. Gaughan, are reprints of articles in recently published histories of those Minnesota counties. A valuable "Glossary of Chippewa Indian Names of Rivers, Lakes, and Villages" is contributed by Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst. Sections are devoted to "Documents" ("Letters of Bishop Loras, 1829 and 1830"),

"Contemporary Items," "Obituary Notices," "Our Library and Museum" (including a list of accessions of the past year), and "Notes and Comment."

A Description of the Massacre by Sioux Indians in Renville County, Minnesota, August 18–19, 1862, by Marion P. Satterlee, has been published by the Fisher Paper Box Company of Minneapolis (1916. 18 p.). Besides detailed narratives of the events in different parts of the county, the pamphlet contains a "List of the Victims," one hundred and seventy in all, and an account of "The Riggs Mission Party."

About sixty of the delightful "Visitin' 'Round in Minnesota" sketches by Dr. Caryl B. Storrs, noted in the August, 1916, issue of the BULLETIN (p. 412), have been reprinted by the *Minneapolis Tribune* in book form (1916. 175 p.). The fact that the book is labeled "first series" gives grounds for expecting that more of these sketches will ultimately be reprinted.

A series of attractive pamphlets on the towns of Redwood County is being brought out under the editorship of Mr. Charles W. Howe of Redwood Falls. The first of these to be issued are *A Half Century of Progress; Walnut Grove, Minnesota, and Vicinity, 1866–1916* (56 p.) and *Forty Wonderful Years; Morgan, Minnesota, and Vicinity, 1876–1916* (64 p.). In each case the editor has included a few introductory pages dealing with the history of the township from its first settlement, and has devoted the major portion of the book to a detailed description of the township of the present day—its peculiar advantages, its agricultural opportunities, its educational and religious institutions, and its business houses—together with biographic sketches of its prominent citizens. If the editor's purpose to make each narrative "an accurate, historical work" has been faithfully carried out, the future historical student will find the series of decided value.

"The Sense of the State," an address delivered by President George E. Vincent of the University of Minnesota at the University of California, March 23, 1916, has been printed in the July number of the *University of California Chronicle.*

"Louis W. Hill, the Successor to the Empire Builder of the Northwest—His Training, His Achievements, and His Future Task" is the title of a brief article by French Strother in *World's Work* for September, 1916.

The Minnesota legislature of 1913 made provision for the placing of suitable memorials to the Minnesota soldiers who lost their lives in the Civil War and who are buried in the national cemeteries at Little Rock, Arkansas, Memphis, Tennessee, and Andersonville, Georgia. The work of constructing and erecting the monuments was completed in the summer of 1916, and the dedicatory exercises took place at the designated cemeteries on September 22, 23, and 26 respectively. A party of Minnesota Grand Army men and state officials, including Governor J. A. A. Burnquist, Adjutant General F. B. Wood, and General C. C. Andrews, conducted the exercises. The dedicatory address which was delivered at Little Rock by General Andrews was published in the *National Tribune* of Washington for October 26 under the heading "Minnesota in Arkansas."

The site of the stockade and old courthouse at Spirit Lake, Iowa, where refugees from the Minnesota settlements on the Des Moines River and people from the abandoned frontier settlements in northwestern Iowa were sheltered during the Sioux outbreak of 1862–63, has been marked by a boulder and bronze tablet. The dedicatory exercises, conducted under the auspices of the Daughters of the American Revolution, were held August 29, 1916. On September 20, 1916, a boulder was unveiled on the site of a similar stockade erected by the pioneer settlers of Sauk Centre, Minnesota, in August, 1862, and occupied by a small detachment of United States soldiers until 1865.

Carleton College staged an historical pageant in Laird Athletic Park, Northfield, October 14, 1916, reproducing in six episodes the history of the town and college. The first portrayed the vanishing of the Indians from the banks of the Cannon River. The early town of Northfield was represented in the second tableau, the coming of the first settlers in 1853, the first religious service in 1854, the first school, and the James-Younger bank raid of 1876, all being shown. Then followed four episodes

representing the founding of the college fifty years ago: the departments of the present institution; student life and activities; and the financial campaigns for the "Greater Carleton." A scenario of the pageant was published in an eight-page pamphlet entitled *Historical Pageant Presented at the Fiftieth Anniversary of Carleton College.*

The historical pageant presented on the evenings of August 18 and 19, 1916, in the stadium at Anoka, was somewhat unique not only in its subject but in its undisguised purpose to arouse in the spectators an interest in the advantages of rural life. The development of agriculture was traced in twelve episodes from its earliest crude beginnings in biblical days to advanced modern-day methods. Some idea of the method of treatment may be gained from the subjects of the episodes: the Garden of Eden; outside of Eden—a picture of the savage's struggle to exist on wild fruits and animals killed with a club; a prehistoric harvest—Seth's first effort to cultivate the land; a harvest in Palestine; a harvest on the Nile; Chinese coolies at work in the rice fields; agriculture as practiced by the North American Indians; New England pioneers in famine time; the cotton pickers of the South; the shiftless and poverty-stricken farmer of twenty years ago; the advent of the spirit of progressiveness; and an up-to-date farmers' picnic. The pageant was presented by the farm clubs of Anoka County, and over three hundred persons took part in the production. The book of words of the pageant, written by Roe Chase, editor of the *Anoka Herald,* has been issued in pamphlet form with the title *A History of Agriculture: a Pageant* (32 p.).

About five hundred members of the Territorial Pioneers' Association and the Pioneer Rivermen's Association, with their families and friends, participated in the river excursion from St. Paul to Stillwater on August 16, according to the *Minneapolis Tribune,* August 17, 1916. Among the guests were A. L. Larpenteur, one of the four surviving members of the Minnesota Old Settlers' Association, and Captain Jerry Purner of Lansing, Iowa, the oldest of the upper Mississippi River pilots.

The annual picnic of the Territorial Old Settlers' Association of Blue Earth County was held at Sibley Park, Mankato, August

10, 1916. Thomas Hughes of Mankato was the principal speaker on the afternoon program. That part of his address which was devoted to biographic sketches of pioneer settlers whose deaths occurred during the year was published in the August 10 issue of the *Mankato Daily Review.*

The Vermilion Range Old Settlers' Association held its second annual reunion at Tower, August 24–26, 1916. Over eight hundred members were in attendance. A full account of the reunion appeared in the September 1 issue of the *Ely Miner.*

The forty-second annual meeting of the St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association was held in Stillwater, September 20, 1916.

A full report of the addresses delivered before the fiftieth annual convention of the Minnesota Editorial Association, held in Minneapolis, February 17–19, 1916, appeared in the recently issued volume of *Proceedings* (124 p.). Among those of especial interest may be noted "A Retrospect," by Captain Henry A. Castle, which is a brief review of the history of the association from the days of its organization in 1867, together with biographic sketches of the editors present at the first annual meeting. Under the heading "Reminiscences" are grouped a number of short talks on pioneer newspaper days by Granville S. Pease of the *Anoka Union,* William B. Mitchell of the *St. Cloud Journal-Press,* Irving Todd of the *Hastings Gazette,* and Fred L. Smith, formerly of the *Minneapolis Chronicle,* all charter members of the association, and by Major Edwin Clark, publisher of the first daily paper at St. Anthony, the *Falls Evening News.*

The *Year Book* for 1916 of St. Mark's Church of Minneapolis (145 p.) contains three pages of "Historical Notes" arranged in chronological order from 1861 to 1915.

The *Proceedings* of the Masonic Veteran Association of Minnesota at the twenty-fourth annual reunion in 1916 contains biographic memorials of recently deceased members.

The McGill-Warner Company of St. Paul has published an excellent indexed map of the "City of Saint Paul" (1916), compiled "from the official records in the city engineer's office, U. S. topographic surveys and other sources."

An account of the celebration of the fifty-fourth anniversary of the memorable three-day battle of Fort Ridgely, which took place at the Fort Ridgely State Park grounds on August 22, 1916, appeared in the August 23 issue of the *Mankato Daily Free Press*. The arrangements were in charge of the Fort Ridgely State Park Association, and about two thousand people were in attendance. Among those who gave addresses were several pioneers who were defenders of the fort. A party of about fifty Mankato people likewise commemorated the return of this anniversary by a picnic excursion to Fort Ridgely on August 19. At the exercises held in the afternoon at the stadium Thomas Hughes gave an address on the "History of Fort Ridgely" from its establishment in 1853 to its abandonment in 1867, with some account of the military officers stationed there during that period, which was published in the August 22 issue of the *Free Press;* Judge Lorin Cray's address describing the two major attacks on the fort by Little Crow and his warriors on August 20 and 22, 1862, appeared in the August 29 issue of the *Mankato Review*. In the same issue of the *Review* is an article by Thomas Hughes entitled "Battle of Fort Ridgely."

The citizens of Redwood Falls have presented to the Ramsey State Park the cabin which Colonel Samuel McPhail built in 1864 on the site where this village is now located. It was the first log house in the vicinity, and the building of it was the first step in establishing a settlement above New Ulm in the region depopulated by the Sioux massacre of 1862. H. M. Hitchcock of Redwood Falls is the author of an extensive account of the cabin, as well as of the village, which appeared in the *Minneota Mascot* of July 14, 1916. The article closes with a sketch of the life and character of Colonel McPhail, which is illustrated with his photograph. A part of the article was reprinted in the *Houston County Chief* (Hokah) for October 12.

A series of early-day reminiscences of more than usual historical value are those of the late Marshall T. Comstock, published in the *Mankato Daily Free Press,* August 9, 15, and 31, 1916, from a manuscript now in the possession of Mr. C. A. Chapman of Mankato. Mr. Comstock describes the arrival of himself and party at St. Paul in the spring of 1853, and their subsequent jour-

ney to the small settlement on the site of the present city of Mankato. With two associates, George Van Brunt and James McMurtrie, Mr. Comstock spent the succeeding winter and spring in the construction of a sawmill and dam on the Le Sueur River. The narrative covers the years 1853–55 and contains some interesting material on the social life and economic conditions obtaining in the territory at that time.

In the *Minneapolis Tribune,* August 6, 1916, under the title "Minnesota Pioneer Experienced Wild Night Ride to Warn Settlers of Prospective Indian Raid" Samuel J. Brown of Browns Valley relates the story of a 150-mile ride he took on the night of April 19, 1866, from Fort Wadsworth, Dakota Territory, westward through wild and hostile country to a military outpost on the Elm River to give warning of a seemingly imminent Indian raid. Arriving at the outpost, Brown learned that the party of Indians whose trail had been discovered was not a war party but a band of trusted messengers returning from a mission to the Minnesota Sioux on the upper Missouri to induce them to meet the United States peace commissioners at Fort Rice; so he immediately started back to Fort Wadsworth in order to prevent further needless alarm.

A. N. Fancher of Granada contributed an article of unusual interest to the *Martin County Sentinel* (Fairmont), August 18, 1916. The author was one of the first settlers of the county and took a prominent part in the development of the community, having been county surveyor, school superintendent, and assessor of Fairmont precinct. It was while Mr. Fancher was superintendent that the first school district was formed in Martin County. The value of the sketch lies chiefly in his account of local politics at the time when Fairmont precinct contained two hundred and fifty square miles and had only thirteen names on the assessor's list, and in his narrative of the trials of a pioneer farmer.

"Reminiscences of a Pioneer," in the *St. Paul Farmer,* August 12, 1916, is an account of the early experiences of Charles Smith, a Goodhue County farmer. Mr. Smith came to Minnesota in 1856, and located a claim at Wheatland. During the winter of that year he engaged in hauling coal from Winona to St. Paul,

and the narrative of his journeys contains material of interest to the student of transportation on the frontier. The article closes with an account of Mr. Smith's farming operations in recent years, which form a vivid contrast to his earlier efforts.

Under the heading "Pioneer Escapes Two Ills, Freezing and Publicity," in the *Minneapolis Tribune,* August 20, 1916, is given an account of the life of Ezekiel G. Rogers of St. Paul, who came to Minnesota in 1855. After the Civil War Rogers settled in Dakota County, where he carried on an extensive trade with the Indians of the Red River Valley. It was while on one of his trading trips that he almost lost his life from freezing. Besides an account of the Indian trade the article contains some interesting reminiscences of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

The *New Ulm Review,* September 6, 1916, presents a picture of the change brought about by the construction of the railroad west of New Ulm. The sketch is made up of two articles reprinted from the *Sleepy Eye Herald-Dispatch* and from the *Lafayette Ledger.* In the first the early method of transporting lumber by wagons from New Ulm to Prairieville is described; while the second tells of the rapid growth of Lafayette after the railroad was built.

Several pictures of lake steamers and schooners, reminiscent of early-day Duluth history, were reproduced in the *Duluth Herald,* August 5, 1916. The originals are a part of a large collection of photographs similar in character now in the possession of Captain C. O. Flynn of Duluth.

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ERRATA

Page 18, lines 30 and 35, for *Johnston,* read *Johnson.*
—— 98, line 31, for *Jenkins,* read *Jenkin.*
—— 107, line 26, for *Joseph,* read *Jasper.*
—— 143, line 13, for *Frizell,* read *Frizzell.*
—— 157, line 26, for *1849–50,* read *1850–51;* the former date is given in the letters cited.
—— 184, line 3, for *Noble's,* read *Nobles'.*
—— 219, line 1 of note 1, for *James W. Taylor,* read *James Taylor.*
—— 342, line 16, for *Edward,* read *Edmond.*
—— 383, line 2, for *Schockley,* read *Shockley.*
—— 419, line 15 of the note, for *1912,* read *1910.*
—— 487, line 3 of the note, for *Colonel Miller,* read *Major Cook.*
—— 512, line 8 of the note, for *at the time of their muster-out at Fort Snelling,* read *in 1864 before the battle of Nashville.* The same correction should be made in line 13, page 399.

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